KLAWANS ON *FAST FOOD NATION*

The Nation.

GETTING OUT

IRAQ AND HOW TO LEAVE IT

THE EDITORS
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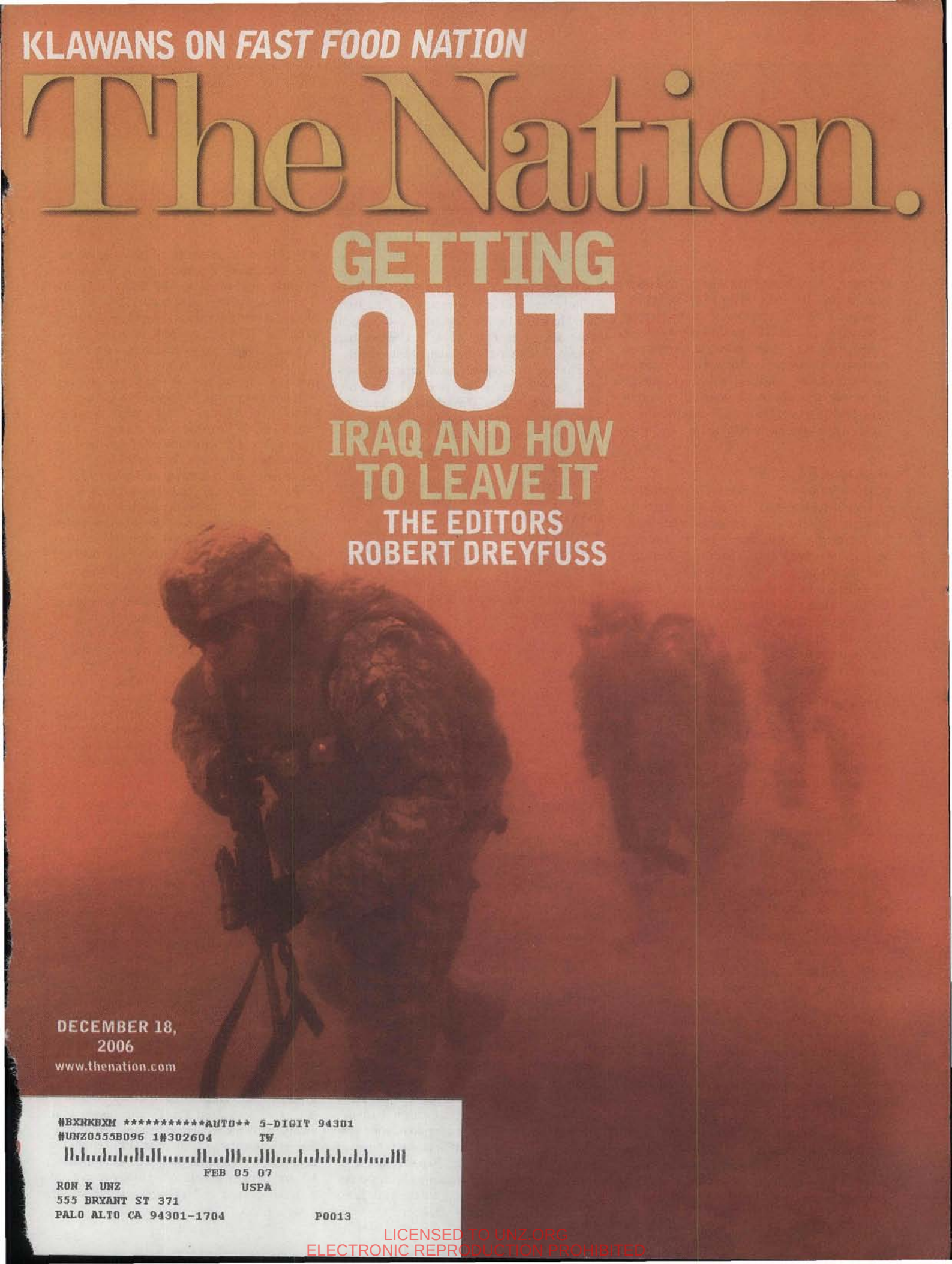

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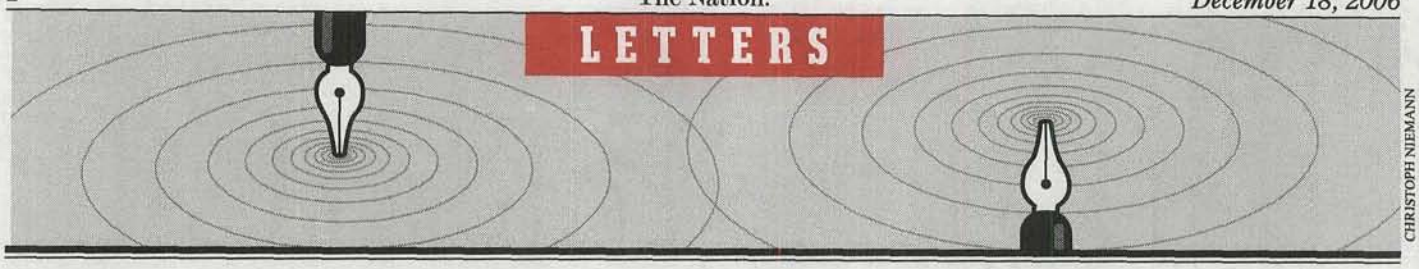

CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

OH, GOD...

Rochester, NY

■ Thank you for Eyal Press's nuanced and deeply informed "In God's Country" [Nov. 20]. As a longtime *Nation* subscriber, I've always been grateful for your solidly grounded progressive perspectives, but I've cringed when religion was discussed in your pages. The writers tended to express a secular worldview unfortunately lacking in understanding of the complexities of religious faith in relation to sociopolitical behavior. I hope this essay signals a change at *The Nation* on that score. PEGGY ROSENTHAL

Washington, DC

■ Much thanks to Eyal Press for his thoughtful article on religion in America, showing complexities within the church often overlooked by the media. While focus groups and the mainstream media search for the ever elusive and blandly centrist "values voter," people of all different faiths are serving the homeless in soup kitchens, running substance-abuse-recovery programs and marching against the Iraq War. If the Democrats run a proactive and hopeful agenda—one that demonstrates the moral values of peace and compassion—people will show up in 2008 in much greater numbers than this past month.

Jesus was killed in large part for preaching against the Roman Empire—a fact ignored by those invoking God in the service of US interests. Many of us pray and work for a day when the church will be a font of resistance to US military hegemony and free-market globalization. Thank you for paying attention to people of faith fighting the good fight. TIM KUMFER
Sojourners/*Call to Renewal*

Amherst, NY

■ I suppose someone had to write a "progressives are religious too" piece before election day. Eyal Press did a capable job until he drew a closing argument right out of the religious-right playbook. There has been "no shortage of secular people who have propagated murderous ideas," Press wrote. "Hitler hardly mentioned God, and Pol Pot, Stalin and Mao never mentioned God at all"—classic misstatements.

Yes, twentieth-century Communism was atheistic. But it's well recognized that it functioned as an alternative religion, with dogmatic claims about the dictatorship of the proletariat standing in for the afterlife, five-year plans standing in for sacraments, and so on. If anything, the example of Communism proves Sam Harris's case against religion: the psychological mechanisms that deep faith energizes are so dangerous, they can do great harm even when evoked in a political, rather than supernatural, cause.

Press's claim about Hitler is simply wrong. Throughout his career Hitler returned to the themes of his Catholicism and his view that he was doing God's work. "I am now as before a Catholic and will always remain so," he told Gen. Gerhart Engel in 1941. In a 1944 speech Hitler said, "I am a pious man and believe that whoever fights bravely in defense of the natural laws framed by God and never capitulates will never be deserted by the lawgiver." There are many more examples. True, Hitler planned ultimately to syncretize Christianity with pagan elements from Germanic folklore. That might make him a bad Christian or a conflicted pagan—but never a secularist.

Progressive people of faith should resist the temptation to shovel blame for Nazism and Communism onto the nonreligious. Nazism was shot through with Catholicism, Lutheranism and paganism; Communism was an alternative religion in and of itself. They are cautionary examples of the horror that misapplied faith, not unbelief, can engender.

Secularly yours, TOM FLYNN
Editor, Free Inquiry
The Council for Secular Humanism

Nashville

■ Eyal Press debunks many of the stereotypical notions of religious people in America. Unfortunately, he also resorts to poor arguments and cheap shots. Sam Harris is a "secular fundamentalist" only in the sense that he strictly adheres to the principles of reason. Perhaps some Upper West Side liberals would object to Harris's criticisms of Islam, but his position that Muslims' beliefs are as preposterous as Christians' is consistent (and should serve to debunk a stereotype about secular liberals that Press seems to want to perpetuate). Harris also addresses those same fallacious arguments that Press invokes about the religiously inspired civil rights movement, or the nonreligiously inspired movements of Nazism and Stalinism. The impulse to fight for social justice is hardly dependent on religion, and the movements of Hitler and Stalin, while not religious, were equally dogmatic and based on a dangerous cult of personality.

For a "secular" person like myself, it is not a matter of wanting to stereotype religious people, or laugh at them, or see them as my enemy. Yet it is often the agenda of religion and the religious that I find myself to be greatly at odds with. I thoroughly object to law and public policy being based on anything other than reason. I am appalled at the wars fought over conflicting religious beliefs. I am infuriated at discrimination justified by "revealed truth." Religion should be a private matter, strictly separated from the political and legal realms. ROBERT S. KING

Brandon, Fla.

■ Eyal Press's excellent article gives a good picture of our modern zeitgeist. Those of us in the most despised minority—atheists—view what is happening with great concern. Thus, it seems too bad that Press critiques Sam Harris's writing as he does. Harris, in a superb, lucid way, shows us what is happening to us and how we should react. His book's title, *Letter to a Christian Nation*, is not misleading, as Press says. Nor is it addressed to people "who want to get a good laugh at the expense of those silly enough to believe in God." Harris is showing everyone the irrationality of supernatural belief and the harm it engenders. He explains how belief in a "God" has caused—and is causing—much suffering.

Press takes umbrage at Harris's calling followers of Islam "utterly deranged by their religious faith." All movements for good have been driven by passion, says Press, citing the abolition of slavery, feminism, etc. Furthermore, have not some of the most notorious and cruel dictators been atheistic? This is true, of course. But I submit that the fanaticism fueled by religious belief is different from the enthusiasm for good causes. The latter is focused on victims and is not concerned with trying to please a stern (unseen) deity. It is not geared to a quivering subservience to a higher power. It is trying to rectify human ills and should not be compared to the "deranged" followers of any god. Harris's writing is thoughtful and entertaining. And it is necessary, given the world's ugly enmities and bewildering violence. ABIGAIL ANN MARTIN

Collinsville, Ala.

■ My daddy was a Baptist preacher, and in the parlance of our tradition, I "got saved" in the Truett Memorial Baptist Church in Hayesville, North Carolina, in 1959. Randall Balmer celebrates the great George Truett in *Thy Kingdom Come*, reviewed with several other books by Eyal Press. My good friend Balmer—he has twice been the Dotson Nelson lecturer at the Baptist Samford University in Birmingham—holds Karl Rove's operative in the SBC, Richard Land, up to the plumb line of Truett and finds Land woefully wanting.

Thank you, Eyal Press, for this great take on the current state of religion and politics in our American experiment. I have linked the story on an active progressive Baptist discussion board to see how it plays here in Alabama and the region. STEPHEN FOX

Jamaica Plain, Mass.

■ I agree with Eyal Press's conclusion that members of the secular left should avoid confining themselves to a "small sect of like-minded believers." Admittedly, as a secular humanist, I'd tend to place myself in the holier-than-thou

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EDITORIALS

Time to Leave

With Iraq descending ever further into chaos and civil war, the first order of business of the new Democratic Congress when it convenes in January must be to pass a resolution establishing a clear and expeditious timeline for the withdrawal of US forces. Such a resolution would not only reflect the will of the American people; it would offer the only reasonable course of action. The inescapable truth is that the Bush Administration—first with its illegal and unjustified invasion and then with its divide-and-rule occupation—has produced in Iraq a strategic and human catastrophe of untold proportions. There is nothing we can responsibly do except withdraw US troops and work with other nations to keep the civil war and chaos from spreading to neighboring countries while providing humanitarian relief to Iraq's victims.

Some members of Congress, however—including some in the Democratic Party—continue to resist setting a clear timetable for withdrawal. Others say they prefer to wait and see the recommendations of the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group (ISG), which according to preliminary reports will offer a range of familiar policy ideas for stabilizing Iraq, including reining in the militias, training more Iraqi troops and pressuring the Shiite-dominated government to include more Sunnis.

Yet the monstrous events of November put an end to the illusion that US forces can somehow stabilize Iraq before they leave. The bloody civil war, brutal revenge killings and escalating sectarian violence claimed more than 200 Iraqi lives over the Thanksgiving weekend alone, promising to make November an even deadlier month than October, which according to a United Nations report saw 3,709 Iraqi civilians killed. The 140,000 American troops in Iraq were unable to prevent this violence, just as they have been unable to stop the ethnic cleansing that has taken place over the past year. According to the UN, 365,000 Iraqis have fled their homes and communities since the bombing of the mosque in Samarra in February, and more than 50,000 are fleeing their homes every month.

These statistics do not fully capture the gruesome horror that much of Iraq has become. Nor do they capture how helpless US forces are to establish security. As journalist Nir Rosen reported earlier this year, "The Americans are just one more militia lost in the anarchy." Indeed, the Iraqi government has no authority outside the Green Zone, nor any control over the proliferating Shiite and Sunni militias.

The notion that the Iraq Study Group can offer new ideas for stabilizing Iraq is just the latest imperial illusion preventing Washington from facing reality. If it is honest, the Baker-Hamilton commission will acknowledge that the only feasible option for America is to leave—as quickly as possible.

The recommendations that the ISG is reportedly considering have all been attempted, without success, in one guise or another over the past two years. The Administration has tried training the Iraqi army and police and has only empowered and supplied more militias, who have used the police and now the army as cover for their death squads. It has pushed the Maliki government to dismantle the Shiite militias, only to be told that both the Mahdi Army and the Badr Organization are either off-limits because they're aligned with the government or beyond its control.

The Administration has pressured the Shiite government to increase the number of Sunnis—to the point that the US Ambassador is viewed by many in the government as a Sunni stooge—only to watch as some of the Sunnis appointed resigned when their interests were ignored. It has tried fewer troops in Baghdad. It has tried more troops in Baghdad. It has even tried behind-the-scenes discussions with representatives from Iran and with Sunni insurgents. Yet despite these policy

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changes, Iraq has continued its downward spiral into chaos—into a horrifying humanitarian catastrophe.

The only clear accomplishment of the US presence in Iraq has been to create more enemies. There is little American troops can do to stop the killing because they are mistrusted, if not hated, by nearly all sides. An overwhelming majority of Iraqis consider American troops a destabilizing force, even the enemy. In a September poll by the University of Maryland, 78 percent of Iraqis said that the US military is "provoking more conflict than it is preventing"; 71 percent, including 74 percent of Shiites and 91 percent of Sunnis, want US soldiers out within a year or less; and 61 percent of Iraqis favor attacks on American troops.

Given this hostile popular sentiment, how can these troops possibly stay? Sending in more troops, as some prominent members of Congress have proposed, to intervene against both the Sunni insurgency and the Shiite militias would only cause more US and Iraqi casualties and create yet more hostility. Ending the occupation is the only sensible option.

Withdrawing American troops will not, of course, necessarily halt the chaos and civil war. In fact, we understand that they could get worse, no matter what the United States does. But we also believe the US presence itself continues to inflame the situation. Ending the occupation would remove one of the causes of the violence, and it would allow the Iraqis to take responsibility for their own destiny and to hold their own leaders accountable. It would also resolve the American troops' untenable position, created by their political commanders in Washington, which has put soldiers in the middle of a civil war, without a clear military mission, despised by most of the Iraqi people, shot at by Sunni insurgents as well as Shiite militias.

The focus of American policy, therefore, must shift from trying to stabilize Iraq with a failed occupation to working with other countries to help Iraqis cope with the humanitarian crisis that US policy created and to keep the civil war from spreading beyond Iraq. These goals can best be pursued through an international, UN-sanctioned humanitarian mission, perhaps a joint UN and Arab League initiative. Muslim countries like Indonesia have offered to provide more assistance, even troops, if the United States ends the occupation.

Only by removing American forces, and ending all claims to permanent bases, can the United States increase the possibility that other countries will assist Iraqis. The United States must help by providing money and logistical assistance, such as the sea- and air-lifting of supplies and refugees, and by signaling clearly through its deeds that the era of failed coercive us-versus-them diplomacy is over. In addition to supporting an international humanitarian effort, the United States should work with other UN Quartet members (the European Union, Russia and the United Nations) to organize a regional conference of neighboring states, including Syria and Iran, to obtain their cooperation in containing sectarian violence and resolving the ongoing conflicts in Iraq, Palestine and Lebanon.

Nearly 3,000 American men and women have been killed in Iraq since the war began, and more than 20,000 have been

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wounded or maimed. We have spent $350 billion on the war and plan to spend more in the coming year. How many more American men and women must die, and how much more treasure must Americans offer up, before our leaders have the courage and common sense to admit that there is nothing we can now accomplish that would make right the catastrophe the Administration created with its unprovoked and unlawful invasion of Iraq? That is the question we demand an answer to, and we need to do so every day until the President sets a timeline for the withdrawal of American forces—or Congress does it for him.

Revote and Verify

The most important battle in the effort to fix our dangerously dysfunctional electoral system is playing out on the west coast of Florida. In the race for the 13th Congressional District seat, which had been held by Katherine Harris—who exploited her position as Florida's Secretary of State to tip the 2000 presidential recount in favor of George W. Bush—a mess has developed that almost makes the Bush-versus-Gore debacle of six years ago look like a model of electoral legitimacy.

Show Me the Money

Walter Mosley

This is the second installment in Walter Mosley's cycle of essays on Cultural Famine. The introduction and first installment were published in the October 23 issue. —*The Editors*

"The rich get richer..." This truism is irrefutable. "...and the poor get poorer." We look away from ourselves, and our loved ones, when the latter phrase is used to complete the saying.

Often only the first part of this age-old axiom is quoted. It's as if we are silently saying, "There's no reason to talk about the poor, about poverty. Let's just accept the notion that money migrates toward money and leave it at that."

But where does this money, which moves so unerringly into rich folks' pockets, come from? This is one of the most important questions in everyday working people's lives. Because the money that makes the rich richer comes out of the sweat, the sacrifice and ultimately the blood of working men and women.

Many people deny that they are the victims in the proverb because even though the rich make money off them, too, they are also making money, being middle class, off the working and lower classes.

It's an imagined pyramid scheme, and like all its brethren, a scam.

So-called middle-class people look at working people and say to themselves, "I'm not doing so bad. Look at that poor slob. He's the one getting poorer. I'm traveling along in the wake of the rich. I don't have a mansion, but I own a mortgage on a house."

This is what the poor Irish and Italians and Jews told themselves about black people in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New York.

Today people say it about the Mexican and Central and South American migrant laborers who toil in our fields and factories. "They are the ones who live in squalor and poverty."

What is the difference between the working class and the middle class? Is it a clearly demarcated line dividing those who pass on wealth and those who accrue it?

Most people I know consider themselves middle-class workers. They're making good money, they say, and have good credit at the bank. Their children will go to good colleges and get better jobs. They will retire in comfort and travel to Europe (or Africa) to see the genesis of their culture.

These self-proclaimed middle-class citizens feel a certain private smugness about their proven ability to make it in this world while those in the working and lower classes—because of upbringing, lack of intelligence or will, or bad luck—are merely the fuel for the wealth of the nation.

But how do you know where you fit in the class system? Is it a level of income? Is it defined by education or the kind of job you possess? Is class a function of your relationship to your labor? For instance, are you in the middle class because you own your own business? Or are we defined by our rung on the ladder? As long as we are not at the bottom (or the top), then we can say we are in the middle.

It's a difficult question because the economic state of everyone's life in this world is in perpetual flux. Depression, inflation, recession—all these and many other economic events continually change our finances and redefine our position in society. Our money grows in the bank, but at the same time it loses value. Our property increases in value, but taxes and expenses also rise. We say that we own the mortgage on our home, but more often than not the mortgage controls us. To buy a $10,000 home we pay $40,000 over thirty years. Where did that extra $30,000 go?

It seems to me that we need a rule-of-thumb definition of class. We can't use the pristine forms of geometry to prove where we are and what we're worth. Mathematical sums don't define wealth; the ability to control your time and quality of life does.

I'd like to put forward a system of class definition that is grounded in what I believe to be a common-sense approach to the issue.

Poverty is defined, in my system, by people not being able to cover the basic necessities in their lives. Indispensable medical care, nutrition, a place to live; all these essentials, for poor people, are often and chronically beyond reach. If a poor person needs $10 a day to make ends meet, often he or she only makes eight and a half.

Wealth, in my definition, is when money is no longer an issue or a question. Wealthy people don't know how much money they have or how much they make. Their worth is gauged in property, natural resources and power, in doors they can go through and the way that law works. Wealth moves like a shark over the rockbound crustaceans of the poor and working classes.

The middle classes, which logic would tell us occupy the

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Officially, Republican Vern Buchanan prevailed by a margin of 369 votes over Democrat Christine Jennings. But in Sarasota County, where Jennings won 53 percent of the votes that were counted, more than 18,000 votes have vanished. That's right, 13 percent of the votes cast in that county November 7 have gone missing into the void created by an electronic voting system that generates no paper trail. Buchanan's supporters want us to believe that almost one out of every eight voters in Sarasota County chose not to cast a ballot in a closely contested Congressional race. But other counties in the district reported a drop-off of only 2 to 5 percent.

Common Cause Florida has called for a revote in the county, as have other clean-government groups. There are precedents: Revotes have been ordered over the years at the county level and above for presidential, Congressional and local races. More important in this era of electronic voting, there is a need to establish a new precedent: Without the paper trail so necessary to a recount in a close contest, only a new and verifiable revote can restore the rapidly dwindling faith of voters in the electoral system that underpins our democracy.

space between poverty and wealth, are made up of two very different subspecies. One is the working class; the other is the class of limited privilege.

It is my proposition that the great majority of us fall into the former group. The privileged middle class are people who have to work for a living but who can buy almost anything they desire: a summer cottage, a prestige car, berths at the finer schools for their children. These people are lawyers, real estate developers, the owners of small and successful businesses. If someone in the class of privilege were to lose their job or experience reversals in their business, they would have time (between nine and twelve months) to consider their options before any part of their lifestyle would necessitate change. Their children could stay in private schools, they could still go to fine restaurants and the opera on Friday nights, and even donate to the same charities.

But if a person from the working class loses her job, she would have to find an equivalent one within the month or it'll be fast food and junior college for everyone in the family.

Working-class people are (excuse the Marxism) wage-slaves. Those in the working class live on the edge of poverty, saying to themselves that they are doing all right. They drink and watch far too much TV. They buy Lotto tickets and live moderate lives that are far beyond their means. The profit they generate flows to the rich, and they borrow to fill out the coffers.

Most Americans are working-class wage-slaves, arguing that they're better off. This fantasy, more than any other confusion, hobbles us. Because we fear to see how delicate our economic state is, we cannot motivate ourselves to demand change.

Capitalism, the accrual of wealth from labor, is the religion of America; poverty our cardinal sin. To recognize our position in relation to wealth would be perceived as a confession of wrongdoing, and so we stoically bear up, pretending we are doing all right. And because we don't see ourselves clearly, we have poor healthcare, no adequate insurance for old age, poisons in our water and our food and the continual nagging fear that things may at any moment fall apart.

Where is the money? It's not in our bank accounts or serving our people. It's not in affordable housing, quality education or the development of sciences that would better the species and the planet. It's not being used for the purpose of global peace.

America is the wealthiest nation in the world, by far, but we the American people are not wealthy. We, most of us, live on the border of poverty. In the distance are towering silvery skyscrapers housing our corporations and our billionaires. But do not be fooled. This skyline does not belong to us. We are not partners in the corporation of America.

The money we make, the wealth we have created, is paradoxically beyond our reach. We live in a separate America. An America that is heated by oil that we may or may not be able to afford; an America that makes profit off of cigarettes, alcohol and imperialist incursions into underprivileged nations; an America that cares more for corporations than it does for its living, breathing citizens.

Where is the money? It has been turned into gold and laid upon our willing backs. We struggle under the weight of the wealth of America, and there we are ground down until, in the end, it shall be soaked in our blood.

This knowledge, as depressing and oppressing as it is, is also a harbinger of hope. Poverty is not our fault or our destiny. We, the poor and working class, have built this nation and it, along with all its fabulous wealth, belongs to us. From the Atlantic to the Pacific we, the workers, are the ones who hold sway. And every vault, every clinic, every drop of sweat fallen upon American soil is our democratic birthright.

The rich don't own anything that we haven't built. The government means nothing that we don't endorse. These are the secrets that need to be made public. There may be charities to help with income and profession, there may be those who lend a helping hand. But the helpers and the help are equals in this country, in this nation. There are no hierarchies of class in a democracy. There is only freedom and debt owed to the millions upon millions who have labored to make us great.

The greatest service that could be given to the poor and working classes is the knowledge that they, that we, all deserve the best that America has to offer, and if there are those who try to diminish us because of our bankbooks or our education this is a crime against our Constitution. We carry this nation on our backs, and everything it has done is our property and our responsibility.

A man can be rich, but only a nation can be wealthy. And if any person of any age suffers from poverty, then our whole country bears the shame.

Walter Mosley, whose books have been translated into twenty languages, lives in New York. He is the author, most recently, of Life Out of Context *(Nation Books).*

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COMMENT

The 'Seattle Senators'

Senator-elect Sherrod Brown was the first to recognize, in 2005, the potential for a radical shift in the way Congress approaches trade policy. Brown, then an Ohio Congressman who had led frustrating fights in the House against the extension of Most Favored Nation trading status to China, the Central American Free Trade Agreement and other corporate-friendly Clinton and Bush Administration deals, noticed an intriguing twist in the vote on CAFTA. The split was tight not only in the House, as trade votes had historically been—a 217-to-215 majority achieved only after rule-bending and arm-breaking by then–majority leader Tom DeLay—but also in the Senate, long a haven of free traders. Forty-five of the 100 senators voted nay. "When you looked at the numbers, and at what seats might be open in 2006, it was clear we could swing not just the House but the Senate," said Brown, who gave up a safe House seat to challenge incumbent GOP Senator Mike DeWine. "I knew that if we could get the Senate, we could start talking about doing more than blocking bad deals like NAFTA and CAFTA. We could begin to implement a fair-trade agenda that emphasizes protecting workers, the environment, human rights, communities in the US and abroad."

Brown read the map right. So it is that he will be part of a Senate that could take the lead in upending the corporations-first approach of the past several Administrations. Much has been made of shifts in the House makeup that augur changes in trade policies: DeLay is gone, Republicans are out of power and more than two dozen new fair-trade Democrats are ready to take the place of free-trade Republicans. But the changes in the Senate are just as sweeping, and perhaps more significant. Of the six Republican incumbents who lost to Democrats on November 7, five were steady free-trade voters. All were replaced by lawmakers—Brown in Ohio, Bob Casey in Pennsylvania, Claire McCaskill in Missouri, Jim Webb in Virginia and Sheldon Whitehouse in Rhode Island—who argued that past trade agreements have failed to deliver on the promise of more prosperity for US workers and farmers. In addition, the seat held by Vermont Independent Jim Jeffords, who voted for CAFTA and other trade deals, was taken by Bernie Sanders, who for more than a decade has been one of the steadiest and savviest critics of the free-trade agenda. These new senators join a cadre of senior Democrats who have grown increasingly critical of US trade policies and who are now in positions of real power—North Dakotans Kent Conrad, who will chair the Budget Committee, and Byron Dorgan, who will chair the Commerce Committee's subcommittee on trade; Iowa's Tom Harkin, who will chair the Agriculture Committee; and Illinois's Dick Durbin, who will serve as majority whip.

While the veterans will be in the lead on many trade issues, the newcomers bring a distinct and vital perspective to the Senate. They're more closely linked than most of their senior colleagues to the movement that began to put globalization issues on the US agenda with the 1999 protests at the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle. Brown marched with Ohio trade unionists in those protests. And he and Sanders developed a Congressional response to the Seattle uprising by sponsoring a Global Sustainable Development Resolution, which proposed including enforceable labor, social and economic rights in trade agreements and cancellation of the debts of the world's poorest countries, among other measures. Their moves were cheered on by an organic farmer named Jon Tester, who, long before he was the senator-elect from Montana, was working with leaders of the Seattle protests to counter the push for the genetic modification of food.

Brown, Sanders and Tester will play an essential role, along with newly empowered labor groups, in reminding Democratic leaders that anger over trade policies drew swing voters to the party's line on November 7. That message is critical because there are still plenty of powerful Democrats with long records of backing free-trade pacts, among them House majority leader Steny Hoyer, House Democratic Caucus chair Rahm Emanuel and Senate Finance Committee chair Max Baucus.

Some of the first clashes will come over the renewal of presidential "fast track" authority, which expires in the middle of next year. The Bush Administration wants to maintain fast track in its current form, with Congress essentially ceding negotiating authority on trade deals to the White House and its appointees. There are legitimate fears that Democrats like Hoyer and Emanuel are willing to give the President what he wants, with only a few cosmetic changes. The "Seattle Senators" and their House allies will push for a new approach that sets clear standards for protecting workers, the environment and communities. And if they succeed, they can then get down to the serious work of reopening and reforming existing agreements like NAFTA.

Senators like Brown and Sanders understand that, just as the corporate free-trade absolutism of the Clinton and Bush years is a recipe for disaster, so too is the old-school economic national-

CALVIN TRILLIN

An Analysis of the War by the Newly Rehabilitated Trent Lott

If we didn't have 'em tied down in Afghanistan and Iraq, they'd be, you know, somewhere else—in England, or even right here.

—Senator Trent Lott on Fox News

Apparently, he means it's simply grand
We didn't win and leave, as we had planned,
Since we can count on Bush—that he'll endeavor
To keep those people tied down there forever.
In other words, as far as Lott can tell,
This war is really going very well.
Lucky us.

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About Your Professor

Dr. Bart D. Ehrman (Ph.D., Princeton Theological Seminary) is the James A. Gray Professor and Chair of the Department of Religious Studies at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has won several teaching awards, including the Bowman and Gordon Gray Award for Excellence in Teaching. Professor Ehrman has written or edited 17 books, including the recent bestseller *Misquoting Jesus.*

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COMMENT

ism of Pat Buchanan. Instead, they are looking to give legislative definition to the slogan of the streets: "Another World Is Possible." They will do so by demanding that the interests of workers and farmers at home and abroad come before the interests of the multinational corporations that have padded their profits with race-to-the-bottom trade policies. JOHN NICHOLS

Olbermann's Hot News

If you picked up the *New York Times* on October 18, you'd have had little reason to think it was a particularly significant day in American history. While the front page featured a photo of George W. Bush signing a new law at the White House the previous day, the story about the Military Commissions Act—which the *Times* never named—was buried in a 750-word piece on page A20. "It is a rare occasion when a President can sign a bill he knows will save American lives" was the first of several quotes of praise from the President that were high up in the article. Further down, a few Democrats objected to the bill, but from the article's limited explanation of the law it was hard to understand why.

But if you happened to catch MSNBC the evening before, you'd have heard a different story. It, too, began with a laudatory statement from the President: "These military commissions are lawful. They are fair. And they are necessary." Cut to MSNBC anchor Keith Olbermann: "And they also permit the detention of any American in jail without trial if the President does not like him."

What? Did the *Times*, and most other outlets, just miss that?

Indeed, they did. Olbermann, who decried the new law as a shameful moment in American history, went on to proclaim that the Military Commissions Act—which he *did* name—will be the American embarrassment of our time, akin to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 or the 1942 executive order interning Japanese-Americans.

It was a perfect story for the bold and eccentric host of *Countdown With Keith Olbermann*, which airs weeknights on MSNBC. A former anchor for ESPN's *SportsCenter*, Olbermann likes to call the news as he sees it—especially when almost everyone else in the media seems to be ignoring a critical play. As it turns out, that tack on the news is increasingly popular these days, upending the conventional wisdom that incisive analysis and intelligent critiques don't win viewers on mainstream television.

Olbermann first cast off the traditional reporter's role in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, delivering a powerful indictment of the government's handling of the rescue effort. "These are leaders who won re-election last year largely by portraying their opponents as incapable of keeping this country safe," he said bitterly. The government "has just proved that it cannot save its citizens from a biological weapon called standing water."

At the time, other newscasters, most famously CNN's Anderson Cooper, also unleashed their outrage, spawning speculation that the natural disaster might also become a watershed event for broadcast news. But most anchors quickly returned to business as usual, censoring their own criticisms no matter how bad the news continued to be. Not Olbermann. Encouraged by rising ratings, he's since turned his distinctive take on the government's incompetence into a regular part of his show.

Last August he took the tone up a notch when he aired the first of his hard-hitting Special Comments. Regularly invoking some of the most shameful examples of American history to frame the Bush Administration in historical perspective, he's likened the President's recent acts to John Adams's jailing of American newspaper editors, Woodrow Wilson's use of the Espionage Act to prosecute "hyphenated Americans" for "advocating peace in a time of war" and FDR's internment of 110,000 Americans because of their Japanese descent. Ours is "a government more dangerous to our liberty than is the enemy it claims to protect us from," declared Olbermann the day after the President signed the Military Commissions Act.

Since his first Special Comment ripped into Donald Rumsfeld for attacking Americans who question their government, video clips and transcripts of Olberman's commentaries have been zipping around the Internet, a favorite on sites like Crooks and Liars, Truthout and YouTube. (The Rumsfeld commentary was watched more than 100,000 times in the month after it appeared on *Countdown*.) But it's not just a niche following: Since late August Olbermann's ratings have shot up 55 percent. In November he was named a *GQ* Man of the Year. When MSNBC teamed him with Chris Matthews to cover the midterms, the network's ratings were up 111 percent from the 2002 election in the coveted 25-to-54 demographic. And certain fifteen-minute segments on Olbermann's show have edged out his nemesis, Bill O'Reilly. (Olbermann deems O'Reilly the "Worst Person in the World" on his popular nightly contest for the newsmaker who's committed the most despicable act of the day.) Unlike O'Reilly, Olbermann doesn't shout over his guests, condescend to his opponents or deliver empty diatribes. Instead, his show—which attracts guests ranging from Frank Rich to John Ashcroft—features in-depth interviews with prominent academics, public officials and journalists on serious, often overlooked events of the day.

"Keith is a refreshing change from most of the coverage of civil liberties since 9/11," says Jonathan Turley, a George Washington University law professor and frequent guest on Olbermann's show. "Reporters tend to view these fights in purely political terms, so the public gets virtually no substantive analysis. As long as two people disagree, reporters treat it as an even debate. They won't say that the overwhelming number of constitutional and national security experts say this is an unlawful program—they'll just say experts disagree. It's extremely misleading."

Olbermann, who denies any partisan leanings and whose background doesn't suggest any, insists his job is to report on what's really going on—even if the public is loath to believe it. "We are still fundamentally raised in this country to be very confident in the preservation of our freedoms," he said in a recent interview. "It's very tough to get yourself around the idea that there could be a mechanism being used or abused to restrict and alter the society in which we live." Olbermann credits sportscasting for his candid and historical-minded approach. "In sports, if a center-fielder drops the fly ball, you can't pretend he didn't," he says. "There's also an awareness of patterns, a relationship between what has

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I'll take mine ...talk... no sugar

In the early 1930s, watch manufacturers took a clue from Henry Ford's famous quote concerning his automobiles, "You can have any color as long as it is black." Black dialed watches became the rage especially with pilots and race drivers. Of course, since the multi-functional black dial watch went well with a black tuxedo, this adventurer's timepiece easily moved from the airplane hangar to dancing at the nightclub. Now, Stauer brings back the "Noire", a design based on an elegant timepiece built in 1936. The rare black dialed, complex automatics from the 1930s have recently hit new heights at auction. One was sold for in excess of $600,000. We thought that you might like to have an affordable version that will be much more accurate than the original.

Basic black with a twist. Not only are the dial, hands and face vintage, but we used a 27-jeweled automatic movement. This is the kind of engineering desired by fine watch collectors worldwide. But since we design this classic movement on state of the art computer-controlled Swiss built machines, the accuracy is excellent. Three interior complications display day, month and date, and the watch comes with an exhibition back so you can see the jewels and observe the intricate rotor activate the mainspring, balance wheel and escapement. The crocodile embossed leather band is adjustable from 6 1/2" to 9", fitting almost any wrist. And the screw-down crown keeps the watch water resistant to 5 atms. The Stauer Noire was designed by Michael Bisceglia, one of America's top watch historians who hosts a national historical timepiece television show. We have priced the luxurious Stauer Noire to keep you in the black...only 3 payments of $33. So slip into the back of your black limousine, sneer some rich, fuming black coffee and look at your wrist knowing that you have some great time on your hands. The quality of Stauer is evident from the quality of our clients. A recent best actor winner, two best actor nominees, America's top morning news host and multiple Grammy winners all are wearing Stauers. And we didn't pay them for the sponsorship—they paid us.

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gone before and what is to come that is so strong in sports coverage that doesn't seem to be there in news reporting."

If history lessons in prime time seem an unlikely sell, it helps that Olbermann's show is also witty, quirky and fast-paced, covering everything from the Iraq War to Madonna's adoption fiasco to pumpkin-smashing elephants—one of his nightly fifteen-second Oddball segments. With a growing number of TV viewers saying they get their news from Comedy Central's *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report*, it's no wonder Olbermann—who's sort of a cross between Edward R. Murrow and Jon Stewart—has a growing audience.

MSNBC seems to be egging him on. "The only issues I've had with my employers is to calm them down and say 'doing this every night won't work,' " says Olbermann, referring to his Special Comments. "I have to do it only when I feel moved to."

"The rise of Keith's skeptical or pointed comments are the mood of the country," says Bill Wolff, MSNBC's vice president for prime-time programming. "He has given voice to a large part of the country that is frustrated with the Administration's policies."

In a pre-election Special Comment about the Republican National Committee's campaign ads featuring menacing images of Osama bin Laden and associated terrorists, for example, Olbermann declared: "You have adopted bin Laden and Zawahiri as spokesmen for the Republican National Committee." Invoking FDR for contrast, he added: "Eleven Presidents ago, a chief executive reassured us that we have nothing to fear but fear itself. His distant successor has wasted his Administration insisting that there is nothing we can *have* but fear itself."

Not surprisingly, Olbermann has his critics. *National Review* recently lambasted him for his "angry and increasingly bizarre attacks on the Bush administration," claiming that he offers nothing in the way of hard news. But the author didn't cite a single fact that Olbermann had wrong. Meanwhile, as the *Review* acknowledged, O'Reilly's numbers are trending downward as Olbermann's are shooting up.

While his views may seem radical for mainstream television news, they turn out to be a pretty safe bet for him and his network. Which may prove that the American public does have a taste for serious, even high-minded, news—particularly when peppered with a sharp sense of humor. It's another unexpected Olbermann news flash: Dissent sells. DAPHNE EVIATAR

Daphne Eviatar writes frequently about the media for The Nation.

ON THE WEB: "The Day the Music Died": Max Fraser considers the demise of Tower Records, the last great CD emporium, victim of the iPod and MP3 revolution. Will niche music also perish? A Soldier's Story: Bill Edmonds, a major in the US Army Special Forces just back from a year as an adviser to Iraqi security forces, bears witness to the moral, ethical and military dilemmas of Americans and Iraqis caught up in the insurgency. Draining the Gene Pool: Lisa Hamilton explores how patents held by agribusiness firms are blocking organic farmers from acquiring a key gene that would protect crops from invasion by genetically engineered species (www.thenation.com).

"Listen, you pain in the ass--just ask the damn questions on the printout."

"Can you believe it? I really am the president!"

"I am smiling, goddammit!"

STRANGER THAN TRUTH

A plethora of inside histories of Bush and the war have helped shape the political debate in recent months. Taking a walk on the lighter side is a new humor book called *Bad President* by R.D. Rosen, Harry Prichett and Bob Battles. The authors, not coincidentally, created a line of bestselling humor books for Workman Publishing called *Bad Cat* and *Bad Dog* (captioned photos of weird pets) and *Bad Baby* (*enfants terribles*). Applying this technique to politics, they have produced *Bad President*, in which the jokes are interspersed with reality checks headed "The Sad Truth," intended "to introduce the realities on which the humor is hung," explained Workman editor Susan Bolitin.

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Gaza and Darfur

As a zone of ongoing, large-scale bloodletting Darfur, in western Sudan, has big appeal for US news editors. Americans are not doing the killing, or paying for others to do it. So there's no need to minimize the slaughter with the usual drizzle of "allegations." There's no political risk here in sounding off about genocide in Darfur. The crisis in Darfur is also very photogenic.

When the RENAMO gangs, backed by Ronald Reagan and the apartheid regime in South Africa, were butchering Mozambican peasants, the news stories were sparse and the tone usually tentative in blame-laying. Not so with Darfur, where moral outrage on the editorial pages acquires the robust edge endemic to sermons about interethnic slaughter where white people, and specifically the US government, aren't obviously involved.

Since March 1 the *New York Times* has run seventy news stories on Darfur (including sixteen pieces from wire services), fifteen editorials and twenty-one signed columns, all but one by Nicholas Kristof.

Darfur is primarily a "feel good" subject for people here who want to agonize publicly about injustices in the world but who don't really want to do anything about them. After all, it's Arabs who are the perpetrators and there is ultimately little that people in this country can do to effect real change in the policy of the government in Khartoum.

Now, Gaza is an entirely different story. The American public as well as the US government have a great deal of control over what is happening there. It is Israel, America's prime ally in the Middle East, that is on a day-to-day basis, with America's full support, inflicting appalling brutalities on a civilian population. To report in any detail on what's going on in Gaza means accusing the United States of active complicity in terrible crimes wrought by Israel, as it methodically lays waste a society of 1.4 million Palestinians.

I'm not at all surprised there was a sharp uptick in interest in Darfur at about the time of the Kerem Shalom attack and the kidnapping of Gilad Shalit in Gaza in June of this year. By the time Israel's campaign of destroying Lebanon got under way this summer (a campaign intricately linked to the Palestine issue), Darfur was hotter still as a distracting topic. Where is Kristof? Couldn't he trade at least one of his Darfur columns for one on Gaza's suffering?

Israel's soldiers are not going to march into Gaza and truck all the inhabitants away. It is simply making the place into a garbage dump picked over by destitute people. The current cease-fire will do nothing to relieve the siege imposed physically, financially and commercially by Israel, the United States and the EU. Israel and its accomplices are sentencing Gaza's occupants to a living death *in situ*, with actual death meted out each day to "terrorists" and those unfortunate enough to be in the line of fire, like the family in Beit Hanoun or the schoolteacher by the minibus filled with children (a near miss).

As Gideon Levy wrote in one of his many searing reports in *Ha'aretz*, the Israeli army "has been rampaging through Gaza—there's no other word to describe it—killing and demolishing, bombing and shelling, indiscriminately." When my brother Patrick was there in September, he reported in *The Independent* that

> Israeli troops and tanks come and go at will. In the northern district of Shajhayeh they took over several houses last week and stayed five days. By the time they withdrew, 22 Palestinians had been killed, three houses were destroyed and groves of olive, citrus and almond trees had been bulldozed.... Fuad al-Tuba, the 61-year-old farmer who owned a farm here, said, "They even destroyed 22 of my bee-hives and killed four sheep." His son Baher al-Tuba described how for five days Israeli soldiers confined him and his relatives to one room in his house where they survived by drinking water from a fish pond. "Snipers took up positions in the windows and shot at anybody who came near," he said. "They killed one of my neighbors called Fathi Abu Gumbuz who was 56 years old and just went out to get water."

"The sound that Palestinians most dread," Patrick wrote, "is an unknown voice on their cell phone saying they have half an hour to leave their home before it is hit by bombs or missiles. There is no appeal."

The Israelis have destroyed 70 percent of the orange groves, stopped the fishermen from going out in their boats, destroyed the central power station. More than 50 percent of the population is out of work, and per capita income is less than $2 a day.

Jennifer Loewenstein, of the Middle Eastern studies program at the University of Wisconsin, has visited Gaza many times and written powerfully about it on the *CounterPunch* website. She wrote to me this week: "If people received real information about Gaza they would also be appalled—and that's of course why they don't get any. The Israelis stop any real information about it from getting out. In addition, if the Israeli blockade of virtually all human traffic into Gaza were to end and more visitors could actually get in, more people—including freelance journalists—would be outraged or stunned into disbelief at what Israel, with US and EU backing, has done to that miserable strip of land. Again, that's why the Israeli-imposed human blockade persists. And while diplomats, UN and international aid workers and a few others do get in, the fact that most of them utter not a peep about this ongoing crime against humanity suggests in the most sinister way that they will continue not to utter a peep when things get worse."

As Loewenstein concluded: "Servility to power doesn't get more insidious or malignant than this."

There is an international solidarity campaign to end the siege, with ninety-three cities round the world holding events. Gila Svirsky of Jerusalem and Debby Lerman of Tel Aviv urge you to check in at http//gazasiege.net/partners.html. ■

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KATHA POLLITT

Double, Double Toil and Trouble

Is it just my imagination or are women wreaking more evil than usual these days? We all know the reason boys don't read is that female teachers assign books about girls, and girls have cooties; and the reason half of all marriages end in divorce is that women have outrageous expectations, like that their husbands should talk to them; and the reason the Democrats lose elections is that they pander to female voters instead of being manly and tough. Oh, wait a minute, the Democrats won the last election. Women aren't just evil, they're powerful.

Here are some other things women are responsible for:

Rape. I know, I know, it's an old charge, but Australia's top Muslim cleric, Sheik Taj Aldin al-Hilali, has managed to make it new. "If you take out uncovered meat and place it outside on the street, or in the garden, or in the park, or in the backyard without cover, and the cats come to eat it...whose fault is it, the cats' or the uncovered meat? The uncovered meat is the problem. If she was in her room, in her home, in her hijab, no problem would have occurred." Because veiled women are never raped, at least not as long as they stay in their rooms. Sheik al-Hilali later said his remarks were taken out of context—he was only talking about prostitutes.

Gay preachers. Pretty women may make men rape them, but ugly ones are even more powerful: They turn men into homosexuals! Here's Pastor Mark Discoll of Seattle's Mars Hill Church blogging about the downfall of evangelical preacher Ted Haggard, purchaser of gay sex and meth: "It is not uncommon to meet pastors' wives who really let themselves go; they sometimes feel that because their husband is a pastor, he is therefore trapped into fidelity, which gives them cause for laziness. A wife who lets herself go and is not sexually available to her husband in the ways that the Song of Songs is so frank about is not responsible for her husband's sin, but she may not be helping him either." Gayle Haggard, mother of five, must feel pretty silly for contributing a chapter to her husband's weight-loss manual, *The Jerusalem Diet*, in which, according to *Publishers Weekly*, "she urged women to accept their bodies and be gentle with themselves."

Iraq. And you thought Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and those other neocons were in charge! Not so, according to the American Enterprise Institute's Michael Ledeen, quoted by David Rose in the November *Vanity Fair*: "Ask yourself who the most powerful people in the White House are. They are women who are in love with the president: Laura, Condi, Harriet Miers, and Karen Hughes." Ladies, you had the President's heart in your soft little hands, and you blew it. Now all those Iraqi children are dead!

Illegal immigration. According to the Missouri legislature's GOP-heavy House Special Committee on Immigration Reform, there's a simple reason Mexicans are pouring across the border: abortion. "You don't have to think too long," said chair Representative Ed Emery. "If you kill 44 million of your potential workers, it's not too surprising we would be desperate for workers." In Missouri alone, women have murdered 80,000 future roofers and nannies since *Roe v. Wade*.

Grousing. According to Rachel Morrison of the Auckland University of Technology, women spread workplace dissatisfaction. Unlike men, who bond by drinking and having fun, women bond by talking about their problems. That's bad for office morale—before you know it they might start demanding equal pay! And female griping isn't limited to your ordinary office worker. As Phyllis Schlafly pointed out in an interview on scotusblog.com, "Both Justices O'Connor and Ginsburg are younger than I am, and I had no trouble getting a job when I graduated from college and obtained a Master's degree from Harvard. I am skeptical of self-serving claims, made decades later, that a woman could not get a job due to alleged sex discrimination. At any rate, it surely is bad grace for those two, who have enjoyed the most prestigious and powerful jobs in America, to complain about discrimination."

Bad dogs. Cesar Millan, the hugely popular dog psychologist, explained to *The New York Times Magazine*'s Deborah Solomon that dogs need firm, manly leadership: "If what you do is say, 'I'm sorry, baby, Mommy has to go, blah, blah, blah,' the dog doesn't understand what you are saying. He only understands that you are in a soft state and he is dominating you." (The proper valediction to a dog is "Bye, man.") So next time you read about a pit bull ripping out a toddler's throat, blame the woman who didn't swat it with a newspaper when it peed on the sofa.

Childhood obesity. It's obvious that women are responsible for everything that goes wrong with children, beginning with having them (or, in Missouri, not having them). In July *Time* suggested that mothers are even responsible for fathering: Their controlling, hypercritical "gatekeeper" behavior keeps Dad on the sidelines. But did you know working mothers make their kids fat? According to economists Patricia Anderson, Kristin Butcher and Phillip Levine, even ten hours a week of maternal employment ups a child's chances of becoming overweight. The more she works, the greater the risk. Why? The authors suggest that Mom is not available to supervise "vigorous exercise" and relies on junk food instead of home-cooked meals. To be fair, the authors call for social measures like better school nutrition and after-school programs, but the idea that Dad might step up to the stove now that Mom's so busy doesn't occur to them. It's Mom or Mickey D's.

National ruin. Nancy Pelosi hasn't even been officially made Speaker of the House, and she's already being declared a disaster—a weak, emotional, vengeful prima donna who, much like a woman dog owner, doesn't understand how to lead. On Fox Morton Kondracke called her the Wicked Witch of the West. In the *New York Times* Thomas Edsall blamed her for the unraveling of the Democrats—which, given that they haven't had a chance to ravel, is quite a feat. All this over a few contested leadership positions! Meanwhile, the Republicans brought Trent Lott back as minority leader with nary a whisper of dissent. Now that's leadership. Heel! ■

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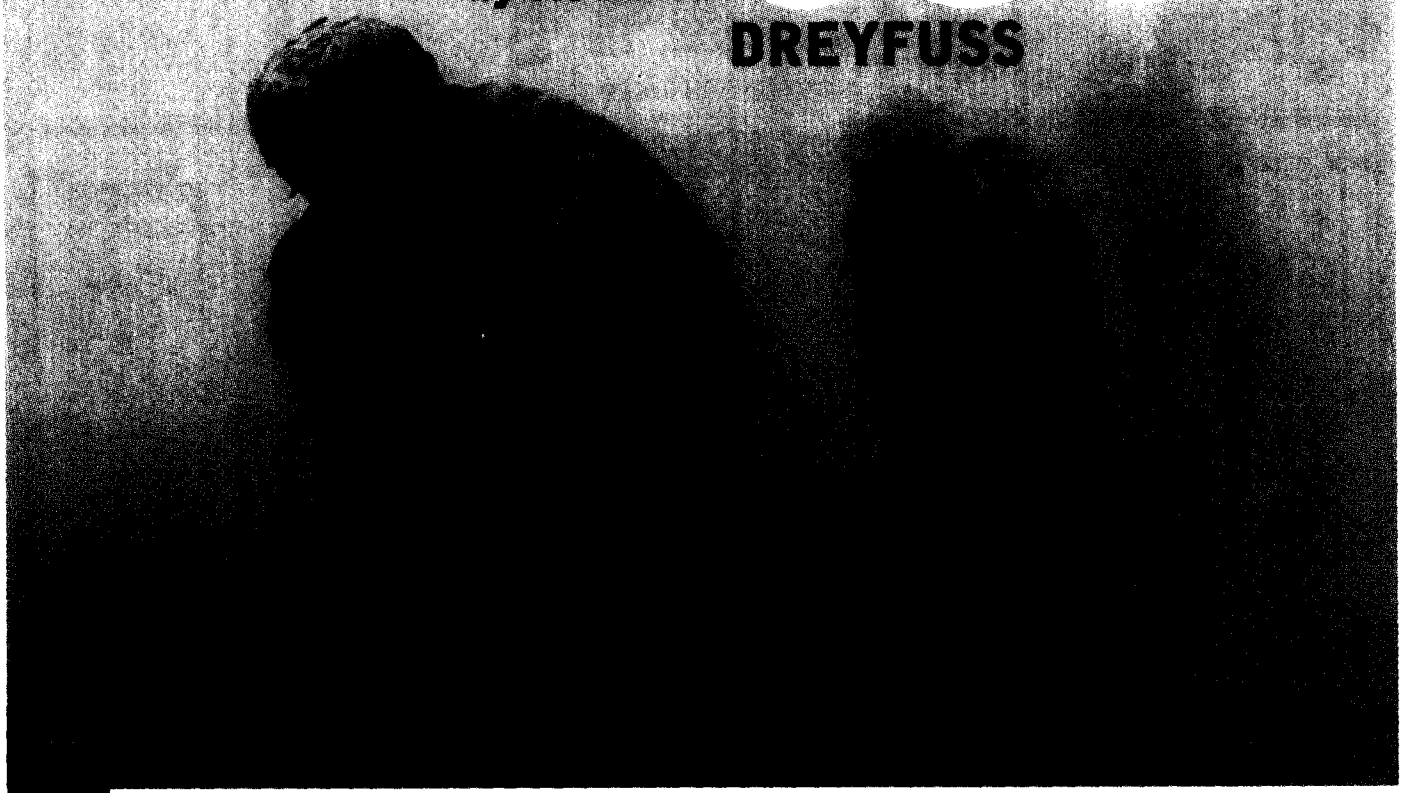
ARTICLES

GETTING OUT

by ROBERT DREYFUSS



Early in the deliberations of the Iraq Study Group (ISG), the blue-ribbon panel created by Congress this past spring and chaired by former Secretary of State James Baker III and former Congressman Lee Hamilton, Hamilton called for a show of hands among the forty-four experts advising the group, most of them veteran US military, intelligence and foreign policy officials. On the table, according to an insider, were two options. The first, which by then had come to be known as Option 3, called for an all-out effort by the United States to stabilize Baghdad, suppress the insurgency and strengthen Iraq's army and police forces. The second, Option 4, was what opponents term the "cut and run" approach, disguised as an orderly redeployment of the 140,000 US troops in Iraq back home or to neighboring countries.

The vote, which took place late this past summer, was lopsided. Only two people voted for Option 4. Despite evidence that Iraq is enmeshed in a civil war that is killing more than 3,000 Iraqis every month, the group's best and brightest weren't ready to face the need to get out. For them, Option 4 meant defeat—a recognition that the entire American project in Iraq was a failure. Not only that, but many of the experts believed that an American pullout would inevitably lead to increased civil conflict. "The fear was that Iraq could be facing a horrific civil war that leaves a million dead," says one ISG expert. Such a conflict could create a black hole that pulls in Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and other neighbors, igniting a regional conflagration. Says the ISG adviser: "Option 4 was just too horrible to contemplate."

By fall, however, opinion within the ISG had shifted radically. After months of glumly sorting through the bleak options for Iraq, another vote between the two strategies was taken—and this time the ISG divided nearly down the middle. "The vote was about 50-50," says the participant. For half the ISG's experts, at least, reality had begun to sink in.

Indeed, over the past year or so, the American foreign policy establishment has slowly started to come to grips with the fact that the Iraq War is lost. Despite the costs—$350 billion, nearly 3,000 American lives and several hundred thousand Iraqi lives—the Bush Administration and the military have no formula that can create an Iraq that even approximates the Administration's vision. And so, from every direction—a new White House task force under the supervision of the National Security Council, a Pentagon review under Joint Chiefs of Staff chair Gen. Peter Pace, newly empowered Democrats on Capitol Hill, a host of Washington and New York think tanks and elsewhere—plans for how to disengage from Iraq are under way.

First among equals, and the one that most politicians and pundits are waiting for, is the Baker-Hamilton task force. Bipartisan, and relentlessly realist in its composition, the ISG is

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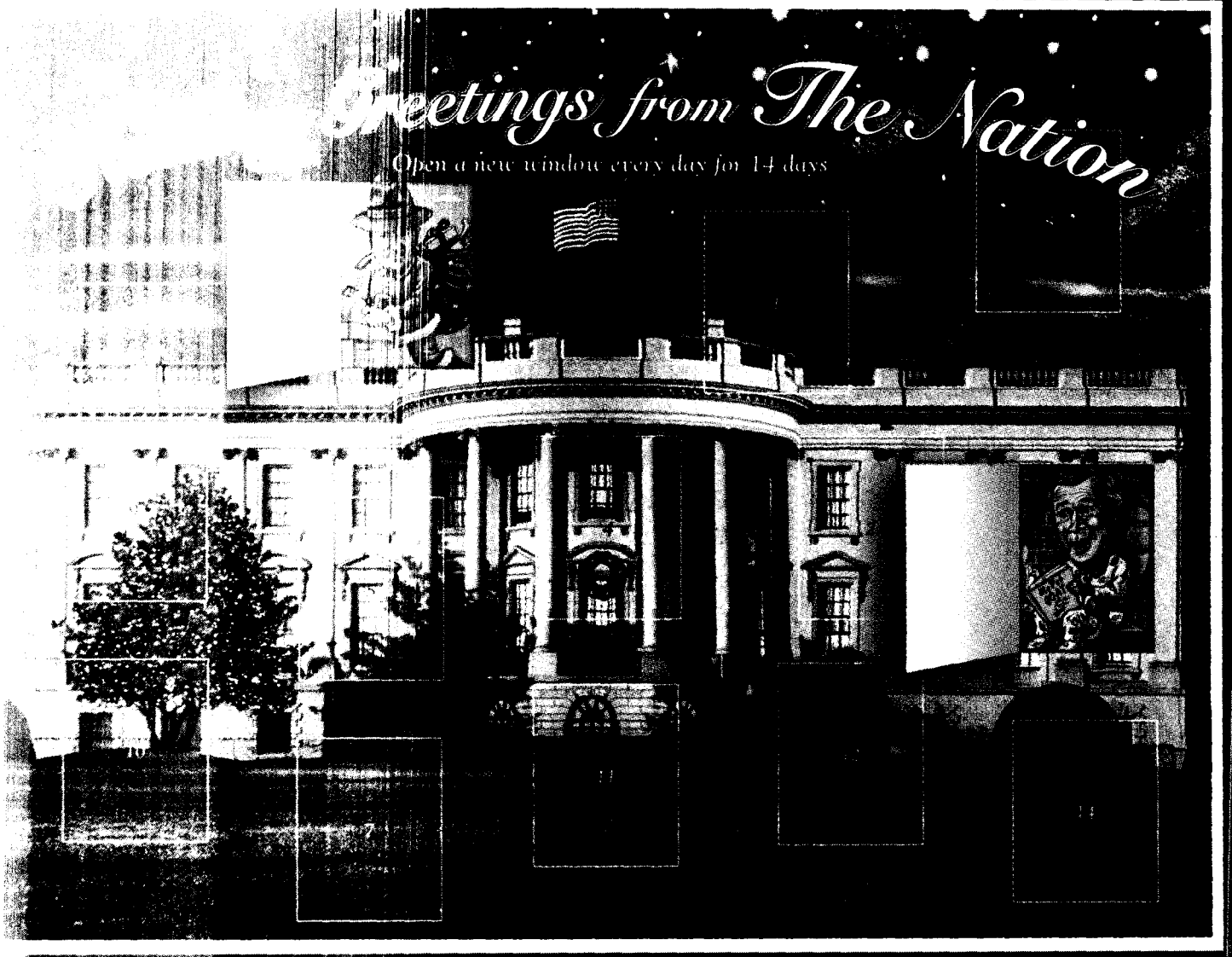

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widely expected to set the tone for debate on Iraq in 2007. Still, like its experts, the ISG members themselves are reportedly sharply divided about whether to recommend a phased withdrawal of US forces. Even if it does reach agreement, its conclusions might be rejected by the White House. And for Democrats on the Hill, the Baker-Hamilton report is likely to be the start, rather than the end, of a long debate, replete with Democratic-led Congressional hearings and a search for a bipartisan accord.

Option 3.5: The 'Surge'

As the second straw vote at the ISG showed, support for some version of what Bush used to talk of as "staying the course"—perhaps through one last push in Iraq to secure, if not victory, then some level of stability—lingers on, and not just among neoconservatives.

Finding itself divided between Option 3, aimed at using military force and diplomacy to stabilize Iraq, and Option 4, the phased withdrawal of US troops, the ISG developed what insiders call "Option 3.5." According to this plan, the United States would engage in a sudden, expanded occupation—adding between 20,000 and 50,000 more troops—in a yearlong effort to suppress violence in Baghdad and strengthen Iraq's army and police force in order to create a strong central government. If, at the end of that period, things haven't improved, the Bush Administration would transition to Option 4.

Proponents of such an idea include Senator John McCain, who is loudly suggesting that the Pentagon dispatch at least 20,000 troops to beef up the 140,000 already in Iraq. Such an idea appeals to many hard-liners on Iraq, including neoconservatives such as Frederick Kagan, a military affairs expert at the American Enterprise Institute, who has spent hours closeted with President Bush. Kagan has proposed "surging 50,000 more troops—with the equipment they need—into Iraq in the coming weeks and months." And a variant of such a plan is reportedly under study by General Pace of the Joint Chiefs. According to the *Washington Post*, Pace is considering sending up to 30,000 troops "for a short period," at the end of which the military would implement "a long-term plan to radically cut the presence, perhaps to 60,000 troops."

To many opponents of the war, Option 3.5 appears to be just a warmed-over version of "stay the course," if not in fact an escalation. Additional forces provide no guarantee that a transition to a reduced presence, or to a withdrawal, would ever take place. Moreover, such a decision would fly in the face of voters' expectations after November 7, and it would provoke an outcry from Democrats on the Hill. And, according to the commander of the US Central Command, Gen. John Abizaid, there are two other major flaws with Option 3.5: The United States does not have the troops available to sustain such a push, and the Iraqi government is opposed. "The Iraqis have a view about more US troops coming on their territory," Abizaid told Senator John Thune during hearings of the Armed Services Committee on November 15. "They are not very much in favor of that."

Robert Dreyfuss, a Nation *contributing editor, is the author of* Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam *(Metropolitan).*

Finally, according to a host of experts, there is no assurance that a troop increase would succeed. Wayne White, an ISG adviser who until last year was the State Department's chief intelligence officer on Iraq, says that even a "more robust surge" than McCain's "would have far less than a 50-50 chance of succeeding," since "no one has any practical notion as to how to turn the police into a security asset, as opposed to the seriously corrupt, militia-dominated liability they have become." And among other problems, he says, "the writ of the Iraqi government we have fashioned extends little beyond the Green Zone," with scant hope of establishing governance beyond it.

For all these reasons, it's not likely that the ISG will support Option 3.5, and it is nearly impossible that it would win any support on Capitol Hill, either from Democrats or from mainstream Republicans. Which brings us to Plan B.

Exit Strategies

In the ISG, among think tanks and political analysts, in offices on Capitol Hill, inside the Pentagon and elsewhere, the overriding question is: If the United States must leave Iraq, and if President Bush's vaunted strategy for victory has collapsed, then how can America depart while doing the least additional damage—to Iraq and, equally important, to America's self-image? For some, the gloomy answer is that just as the US forces rampaged into Iraq, shattering the Iraqi state and unleashing chaos, it is just as likely that they will leave a worsening disaster behind them. "Having blundered our way into Iraq, we'll probably blunder out of it, too," says Charles Freeman, an ISG adviser who served as US ambassador to Saudi Arabia.

Those looking for a plausible strategy for exiting Iraq call that idea Plan B—Plan A having been the neocon-led notion that postinvasion Iraq would be transformed into a pro-American outpost in the heart of the Middle East.

But rather than one Plan B, there are many. Although they differ in details—whether or not to set a specific timetable, how fast to withdraw our forces and what sort of presence, if any, the United States ought to maintain after withdrawing the bulk of its troops—they still have a lot in common.

Some of the Plan Bs being circulated in Washington support withdrawal of all US forces within a few months. Democratic Representative Dennis Kucinich has called for Congress to cut off funding for the war and use money in the pipeline to bring the troops home immediately, though he isn't specific on how long that might take. Democratic Senator Russ Feingold has proposed legislation to require the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq by July 1, 2007. Senator John Kerry has called for getting all US forces out of Iraq in six to eight months. And Representative John Murtha, the military-connected Democrat who has emerged as his party's chief spokesman for getting US forces out of Iraq, proposes to "immediately redeploy US troops consistent with the safety of US forces." By adding that last condition, Murtha makes it clear that a pullout would be prolonged, in order to assure that the United States does not suffer high casualties in retreat. Given the logistical and security difficulties tied to withdrawal, nearly all such proposals would require at least six months to a year.

Yet among the foreign policy elite and for most members of

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Congress, that is too fast. Other plans propose a slower pace, and they are divided on whether to set a deadline or a specific timetable for withdrawal. Many suggest a drawdown over a period of eighteen to twenty-four months. Perhaps the most widely circulated Plan B is "Strategic Redeployment 2.0," issued in May by the Center for American Progress, a Democratic think tank, and written by Lawrence Korb, an Assistant Secretary of Defense during the Reagan Administration, and Brian Katulis, a senior fellow at the center. In it, they propose a withdrawal of 9,000 US troops a month over eighteen months, reducing force levels to "virtually zero," and retaining a limited force for things such as training Iraqi forces and counterterrorism. The redeployment plan has been widely circulated among both Democrats and Republicans on the Hill, where it is seen as a serious effort to grapple with the details of a pullout.

'Those Iraqis who say we should stay indefinitely are the ones who will leave when we leave.' —*Zbigniew Brzezinski*

But its authors are the first to admit that they haven't won majority support for setting a timetable even among Democrats. Many, says Katulis, support Senator Carl Levin's proposal to begin a pullout "in four to six months," though Levin does not propose a specific deadline for completing it. In late July, Katulis notes, all twelve Democratic leaders in Congress—including Levin, Murtha and the incoming leaders of the Senate and House, Harry Reid and Nancy Pelosi—wrote a letter to Bush that called for a "phased redeployment of US forces," efforts to achieve national reconciliation inside the country and an international conference on stabilizing Iraq—but without a timetable. "There's a consensus emerging," says Katulis. That consensus, typified by Levin—who got forty Democratic votes for it earlier this year in the Senate—is for a slow but steady withdrawal without an end date, backed by intense diplomacy.

A parallel plan that has gotten wide attention among moderate Democrats comes from Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter's National Security Adviser, who says he has been in close contact with Democratic Congressional leaders. Brzezinski says that if the United States communicates unambiguously to Iraq's factions that it intends to leave, then departure could be presented as a joint decision by Baghdad and Washington, and could be completed rapidly. "I would shoot for twelve months," he says. "Those Iraqis who say we should stay indefinitely are the ones who will leave when we leave."

"We should announce that we support Iraq's national unity and that we have no intention of having permanent bases in the country," says David Mack, a veteran US diplomat who served two tours in Iraq and who is an adviser to the ISG. "And to make it clear that we are not just talking, have a small but significant withdrawal right away." That, says Mack, who is acting president of the Middle East Institute, would accelerate halfhearted steps already under way in Iraq to reverse the draconian de-Baathification law, bring former Iraqi officers back into the army and establish an effective dialogue with Iraq's resistance.

The United States has conducted a dialogue with the Sunni insurgents, but it has foundered over Washington's unwillingness to commit itself to a timetable for a withdrawal, as the insurgents demand. Such talks are missing from most of the Plan B approaches, which rely on getting Iraq's neighbors together to help stabilize the country as America withdraws.

Baker and Hamilton, during appearances at the US Institute of Peace and elsewhere, have made it clear that engaging Iran and Syria in Iraq's future is essential. Iran gives money and weapons to the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, whose Badr Organization provides much of the muscle for the current Shiite-dominated government and whose forces control most of Iraq's cities in the south. Syria maintains important, though covert, ties to Iraq's nationalist resistance, including to former leaders of the deposed Iraqi Baath Party. Another of Iraq's neighbors is Saudi Arabia, which has enormous clout with the tribal leaders of western Iraq, many of whom are related to the Saudi royal family. And the Turks are fearful that Iraq's Kurds will establish an independent state, which could trigger greater unrest among Turkey's own Kurdish population.

But the White House is resisting cooperation with Syria and Iran, in part because to win their help would require Washington to make major concessions. Syria wants to restart the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, secure the return of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights and avoid renewed civil war in Lebanon. To get Iran's support would require the United States to compromise on Tehran's right to enrich uranium and to give assurances that it does not seek regime change in Iran.

In addition to all of these ideas, two other notions are floating around Washington in regard to leaving Iraq.

The first is partition. The most vocal proponent of partitioning Iraq into three components (Kurdistan in the north, a Sunni state in the center and a Shiite republic in the south) is Peter Galbraith, a former US diplomat and author of *The End of Iraq*, who also serves as a consultant to the Kurds. Indeed, says Galbraith, the ISG has to understand that Iraq is already effectively partitioned. Supporting Galbraith's notion, though more modestly, are Senator Joseph Biden and Leslie Gelb of the Council on Foreign Relations.

But the partition idea is anathema to virtually all experts on Iraq, who call it a formula for permanent conflict among three mini-states, and one that would accelerate bloodletting and ethnic cleansing in Iraq's urban areas. Partition is included in none of the major Plan Bs. It has been explicitly rejected by Baker and Hamilton, and it is strongly opposed by the White House.

The second idea is a coup d'état in Iraq and the replacement of the current feeble regime of Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki with a strongman or a "government of national salvation." For nearly a year, rumors about a coup have circulated in Baghdad. In the Iraqi and Arab media, there have been reports of contacts between US military or CIA officers and Iraqi generals in Amman, Cairo and elsewhere. At least one proposal circulated to the members of the Baker-Hamilton task force specifically mentioned the possibility of a coup. "One scenario is, the Iraqis do it themselves—some Iraqi colonel who's fed up with the whole thing, who takes over the country," says a former CIA

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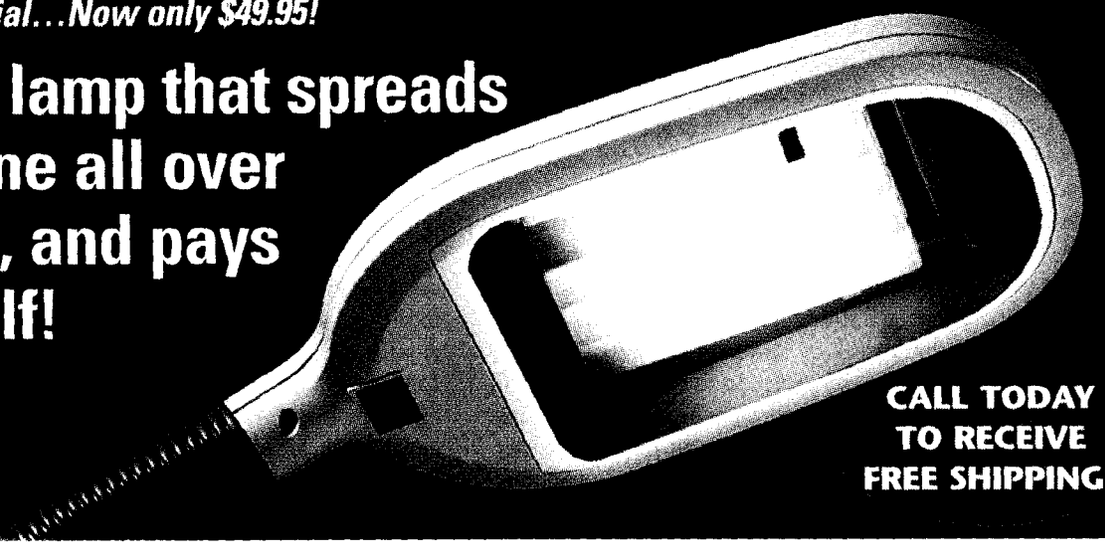

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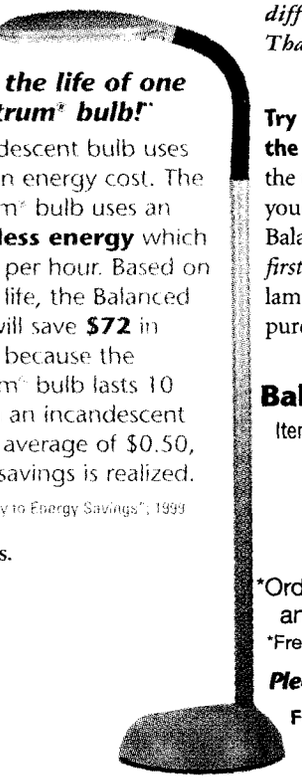

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officer with wide experience in the Middle East. "The other side of the coin is, we do it ourselves, find some general up in Ramadi or somewhere, and help him take over. And he'd declare a state of emergency and crack down. And he'd ask us to leave—that would be our exit strategy." Salah al-Mukhtar, a former Iraqi ambassador to India who maintains close ties to Iraq's resistance, says that several Iraqi generals in Amman have already agreed to take part in a coup. And many experts on Iraq suggest that ordinary Iraqis, weary of the unending violence and lack of basic services, would welcome the emergence of a strongman regime.

No US official, think tank or strategist, however, is likely to go on the record proposing a coup. In the view of nearly all analysts, a coup, however tempting it might be to old CIA hands seeking an easy exit route, would make things worse, not better. Not only is there no obvious candidate for such a role, but, a former State Department official adds, "In order to mount a coup, you have to have a state. And there is no state in Iraq." There is, however, a government. But there is no reason to support it, since it is the result of a process imposed by the United States and enjoys little if any credibility in the eyes of Iraqis.

So, to sum up: None of the Plan Bs being considered condone partition or a coup; nearly all do involve a phased withdrawal over perhaps two years, a plan to involve Iraq's six neighbors in helping to damp down the civil war, an international conference to provide economic aid, peacekeeping forces, political help and a strong US-led effort to train Iraq's army and police forces.

The Politics of Exiting Iraq

Signs that both Democrats and Republicans have gotten the message of the November 7 elections, widely seen as a mandate on Iraq, abound. "The American people have spoken with regard to their deep concern about the loss of life, the loss of limb, the enormity of expenditures, the credibility of our country," said Senator John Warner, Republican chair of the Senate Armed Services Committee, in mid-November. Together with Senator Levin, the panel's incoming Democratic chair, Warner—who returned from Iraq in October to tell reporters that Iraq was going "sideways"—says he intends to develop a bipartisan plan to find a formula for Iraq. Indeed, it was Warner—together with Representative Frank Wolf, a fellow Virginia Republican, and a quartet of mainstream think tanks—who helped create the Iraq Study Group in the first place.

Among the Democrats, it appears that many (if not all) have absorbed the impact of the electoral mandate on Iraq. "We cannot continue down this catastrophic path," said Nancy Pelosi, who will be Speaker of the House, within hours of the results. At a recent briefing, I asked Senator Harry Reid, the incoming majority leader, how strongly the Democrats would push the White House on Iraq. "The President has been unwilling to listen to other ideas," Reid answered. "He didn't give Senator [Dick] Durbin and me a lot of reason for hope. [But] we are not going to back down on this."

Still, for the past three years the Democrats have been badly divided on Iraq: Many of them voted for the war, and their ranks are shot through with prowar right-wingers, not to mention the revived neocon Joe Lieberman. But if they intend to retain or expand their solid majority in the House and their razor-thin majority in the Senate in 2008, the Democrats can't ignore voters' demands. They must thunder from the pulpit against Republicans who want to "stay the course," while scrutinizing every Pentagon budget request and holding investigative hearings into war crimes, abuses, cost overruns and mismanagement.

Among Republicans, the calculations are different, but the results could be similar. Many Republicans are in full panic mode about 2008. If, in the summer of 2008, the war in Iraq is still raging and the GOP runs a prowar candidate (think John McCain), they will almost certainly suffer yet another landslide loss. For that reason, Republican senators like Warner, Chuck Hagel and Richard Lugar—not to mention the Bush 41 realists led by Baker—want to take Iraq off the table by the end of next year.

Over the next few weeks, there will be several markers by which voters can judge how the political class is responding to the November elections. First will be the Baker-Hamilton ISG report and the responses to it by Democrats, Congressional Republicans and the White House. Another is the seriousness of Democratic-led investigative hearings into Iraq, along with a report by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on prewar intelligence about Iraq's nonexistent weapons of mass destruction and ties to Al Qaeda. Yet another is what Congress does about the upcoming Administration request to fund the war through October 2007, expected to total somewhere in the range of $127 billion to $160 billion. The debate over that request will provide the Democrats with further ammunition to undermine the White House's arguments for staying the course.

Senate Democrats will get several other chances to pillory the Administration's Iraq War effort. The first will come in December, at hearings to confirm former CIA Director Robert Gates as Defense Secretary. Gates, who until his nomination was one of ten members of the Iraq Study Group, will be questioned long and hard about his views on Iraq. And then both the House and Senate will hold extensive hearings to evaluate the ISG's report.

Finally, expect major initiatives from the State Department and the intelligence community. At State, Zalmay Khalilzad, our neocon ambassador to Iraq, may be replaced soon by Ryan Crocker, an Arabist currently serving in Pakistan who is on record as an early opponent of the war. Meanwhile, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence is preparing a National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq, to be published before the end of the year, that is almost certain to describe the situation in terms far bleaker than those used by the Bush Administration.

The ISG recommendations will set the tone for the debate on getting out of Iraq, but it is unlikely that its report will provide the final roadmap. Its ideas, as well as those from the parallel review under way at the White House, General Pace's review, the Democrats' own plan to begin a withdrawal within four to six months and other efforts will all commingle within the framework of Congressional politics. Should the ISG endorse "phased redeployment," it will turn Washington on its head, provoke a major showdown with Vice President Cheney and unleash the most freewheeling debate over US foreign policy since the 1960s. ■

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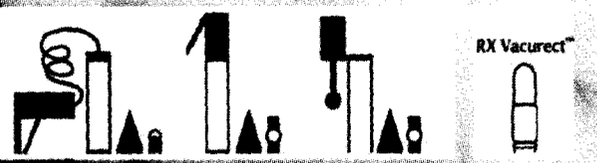

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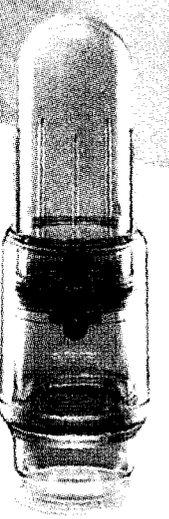

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THE REPUBLICANS' IMMIGRANT-BAITING CARRIED A HIGH PRICE IN NOVEMBER, AS EVEN PREVIOUSLY LOYAL LATINOS WORKED TO DEFEAT THE PARTY'S AGENDA AT THE POLLS.

RYAN INZANA

Latinos Lean Left: Bringing Down the GOP's Big Tent

ROBERTO LOVATO

Until very recently, Phoenix businessman Elias Bermudez was content to wander the desert in search of faces that might bring some color to the overwhelmingly white tent of Republicanism. As an evangelical Republican in mostly Catholic and Democratic Latino Arizona, he was a lone voice in the political wilderness. But the 56-year-old activist and radio DJ took solace in knowing that a political prophet of a previous era, Barry Goldwater, had found success knocking on the rickety doors of the huge ranch houses and shacks dotting the same desert landscape, launching the first commercial radio station in Phoenix—and a grassroots revolution. Bermudez had initially been won over by the GOP because, he says, it backed his efforts to leave the "shadows" of undocumented life and become a citizen, then the first elected mayor of San Luis, Arizona, a border town of about 21,000—89 percent Latino—that he helped incorporate. And like many of the roughly 40 percent of Latinos wooed by Karl Rove and longtime GOP Latino strategy guru Lionel Sosa into voting for George W. Bush in 2004, Bermudez joined the party because it "believed more in family, morality and the ability of the individual to succeed by pulling himself up by his own straps." He broadcast his beliefs weekly on his popular radio show, *Vamos a Platicar* (Let's Talk), where he translated Rove's and Sosa's carefully crafted messages about *Americano* dreams for tens of thousands of potential recruits in the poor, Spanish-dominant sectors of Phoenix, Tempe and Mesa.

But then Arizona politicos like Congressman J.D. Hayworth and other GOP legislators began pushing "some of the most hateful legislation in the US," in Bermudez's words. (Consider for example Goldwater's nephew and GOP gubernatorial candidate Don Goldwater, who proposed building a "tent city" where undocumented immigrants would be indentured "as labor in the construction of a wall [along the border] and to clean the areas of the Arizona desert that they're polluting.") Bermudez was, he says, "sickened" by the proposals on various state ballots in recent elections—four passed in Arizona—denying basic rights, like bail, to immigrants. These GOP-led initiatives, he believes, embolden those "flag-waving white people yelling at me, 'You're no better than a Mexican dog' and those I see at protests who burn the Mexican flag or wear it as a diaper or on the bottom of their shoes."

So, rather than go deeper into the tent of Republicanism, Bermudez opted to tear it down.

"I began a campaign to target Republicans," he said. During the elections, the born-again activist immigrant DJ used media and grassroots organizing methods to help oust anti-immigrant politicos like former TV anchor Hayworth, who was elected as part of the Gingrich revolution in the politically fateful year of 1994.

The roots of the Republican Latino debacle of 2006 lie in the launch of the immigration wars that began with California's Proposition 187, a 1994 ballot initiative that denied education and healthcare to undocumented children. Bermudez's conversion and the fact that only 29 percent of Latinos voted Republican this past election indicate that the appeals to the lower instincts of the white base come at a steep electoral cost. And in this era of narrow victories and contested results, with black support of the GOP mired near the single digits of the post–Southern Strategy era, securing a significant percentage of the vote of Latinos, the country's largest minority group, is imperative for

Roberto Lovato, who writes frequently for The Nation, *is a New York–based writer with New America Media.*

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the GOP. In the same way that appealing to the desire among some whites to segregate the health, education and basic rights of blacks cost the GOP their votes for decades after Jim Crow, similar appeals to deny health, education and basic human rights to Latino and other immigrants may cost the GOP critical votes in the era of Juan Crow. The effects of such dynamics may be felt even more powerfully in the 2008 elections, in which 12 million new immigrant voters (303,600 in Arizona alone) could participate, according to a study by the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights. These are especially bad omens for the Republicans when we consider that foreign-born Latinos were largely responsible for the historic increase in Latino support for the GOP engineered in the '04 elections by Rove and a now glum Sosa.

From his office in San Antonio, Sosa lamented that "even though the President has been extremely vocal about a comprehensive immigration reform package, most Latinos will remember what the [anti-immigrant] Congressional position was—and that can't be good for the future of a [Republican] party that needs more than just the white vote."

For his part, Democratic pollster Sergio Bendixen sees similar omens in the statistical tea leaves of a country that will be half minority by 2050. "Whites are the only group giving Republicans more than 50 percent of their vote. Even among white women they came in at 50 percent. They're not only a minority among minorities, but a minority among the majority."

At a recent Washington gathering of African-American, Latino and other representatives of the newsmedia that serve 51 million nonwhite Americans, Bendixen showed his enthusiastic audience how "the 'macaca' vote destroyed the Republicans in Virginia." The 78 percent of the electorate that is white went disproportionately for Allen, said Bendixen, who added, "That means the 22 percent that is the ethnic electorate defeated Allen."

Asked about the future of the GOP following an election that witnessed the largest Latino vote in an off year, the passionate Peruvian pollster responded by harking back to what happened in previous immigration wars. "The only historical measure we have is the California experience in 1993–94. The Republicans offended Latinos with their [anti-immigrant] ads, and we saw a very strong reaction there in '96, '98 and 2000. It lasted at least three political cycles," said Bendixen.

In what may portend a 187-ization of the nation, he and other analysts of the Latino electorate believe that this time around the national Republican appeal to the white core may be even more costly for them than it was in 1994. Since then, they say, GOP policies and the activities of the Minutemen and others in the burgeoning industry of anti-immigrant politics have negatively affected the lives of US and foreign-born Latinos and further poisoned the atmosphere. Even Latinos like Bermudez have begun to question whether they want to be members of a party that has so little sympathy for desperate immigrants who die in deserts like the one surrounding the Barry M. Goldwater [military] Range outside Yuma. Leaning his head to the side as if giving a prognosis to a patient in a hospital bed, Bendixen predicted, "This will last at least three election cycles, if not more." Add to this the long-term legacy of Hurricane Katrina, controversy over

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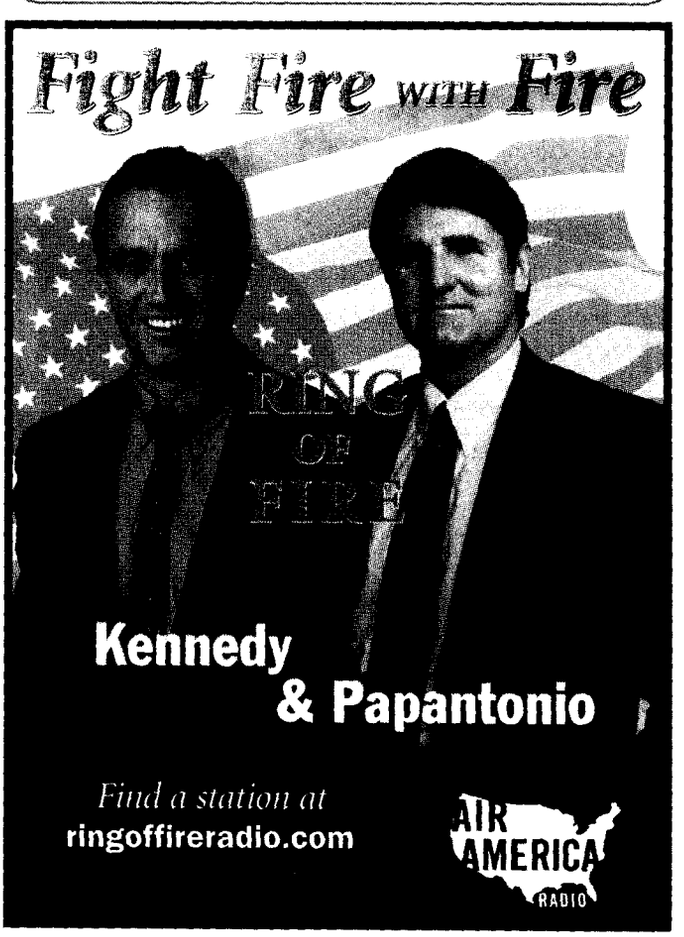

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the renewal of the Voting Rights Act and continued electoral race-baiting like that in the Harold Ford Jr. "Call me" ad, and the future of the GOP looks very white—and not so bright.

But there's one important thing that Bendixen and Sosa agree on, something that could alter the fortunes of the GOP: The Latino vote is fluid. "The immigrant vote is a swing vote," says Bendixen, adding, "The question is, Will Democrats strongly support comprehensive immigration reform? If they don't, Latinos could turn against them." Sounding as if he's getting ready to launch GOP Latino vote campaign 2.0, Sosa concurs with Bendixen, arguing that Latinos won't necessarily respond to anti-immigrant policies in the same way that blacks responded when the GOP pursued its Southern Strategy by playing to the racial fears of whites. "I don't believe the damage is irreversible. The Latino vote is still in contention."

The GOP's refusal to write off the Latino vote, while giving up blacks for lost, is reflected in the fact that it just elected immigrant Mel Martinez GOP chair while at the same time resurrecting supposedly repentant segregationist Trent Lott (who said this year's immigration protests "make me mad") as its minority whip. The fissures over immigration within the Republican coalition will play out in the lead-up to the 2008 presidential election, as potential candidates cover the pro- and anti-immigrant spectrum between reformer John McCain and Minuteman favorite Tom Tancredo.

But assuming that the Democrats are poised to pounce on Republican racial woes is a critical mistake. Many Latinos still remember that the exponential increase in immigrant deaths in the desert began not with the Minutemen patrols but with Bill Clinton, who launched "Operation Gatekeeper" in 1994. A considerable number of Rahm Emanuel and Chuck Schumer's candidates and recently elected Democrats are hardly experts at micro-targeting nonwhites. Harold Ford, the "rising star" who was being considered to chair the Democratic Party before his name was removed from consideration, is both victim and perpetrator of racial scapegoating, as is evident in the Dixiecrat-like anti-immigrant ads he and many of the "pragmatic" and "populist" crop of new Congressmembers ran. And many Latinos will not soon forget that it was Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chair Emanuel, along with recently elected majority whip Steny Hoyer, who pressured House Democrats to support legislation calling for the construction of the Mexican border wall loathed by Bermudez and millions of other Latinos who marched earlier this year.

While a segment of the Republican Party (and a good number of Democrats, including white liberal and progressive Democrats) still believe in "race neutral" politics, the 2006 elections make strikingly obvious the centrality of race and ethnicity in the politics of a darkening and diversifying United States. For their part, the Republicans must rebuild and color the tent burned down during recent elections. And while the short-term prospects of freshly victorious Democrats look promising among nonwhites, recent electoral history speaks loudly to the volatility of the political and racial moment. As they scour the country for votes in '08 and beyond, both parties would do well to wander in deserts like those in Arizona in search of their souls. ■

THE MAYA LONG FOUGHT COLONIALISM BUT HAD NEVER BEEN ATTACKED BY HOLLYWOOD.

Mad Mel and the Maya

EARL SHORRIS

On the Yucatán peninsula, where many of the Maya of Mexico live, there is an often-told story about people like Mel Gibson, whose bloody movie in the Yucatecan Maya language, *Apocalypto*, will be released December 8. I first heard the story from Miguel Angel May May, a tall man among the Maya, handsome, now in his 40s, with a touch of gray in his hair. He speaks Yucatecan Maya so eloquently that when young people who have begun to lose their language and culture first hear him, they shed tears for what has been and what can be in the Yucatán.

RYAN INZANA

May May tells the story with the kind of rage and pride that Gibson tried to portray with his Scottish heroes in *Braveheart* and postapocalyptic picaros in *Mad Max*: "A Maya, of the middle class, like me," May May said, "went into a Ford dealership here in Mérida. He intended to buy a new pickup truck. He was well dressed, but clearly Maya. The dealer offered him ten pesos to wash a truck." It is a common experience for people of color in a white world. The Yucatán is not entirely a white world, yet the Maya suffer the most severe prejudice of any large ethnic group in Mexico. In the language of prejudice in Mexico, the Maya are said to be people with big heads and no brains, too short, too dark and with a strange, laughable Spanish accent. Gibson accepted the stereotype and embellished it.

To grasp what a racist act Gibson has committed in the making of his new film, it is necessary to understand the world of the Maya as it exists today. Perhaps realizing what has been done to the Maya in the film, Gibson has been seeking allies among Latinos and American Indians. He even went so far as

Earl Shorris is the editor, with Miguel León-Portilla, of In the Language of Kings: An Anthology of Mesoamerican Literature—Pre-Columbian to the Present *(Norton). He has received the National Humanities Medal and the Condecoración de la Orden del Aguila Azteca.*

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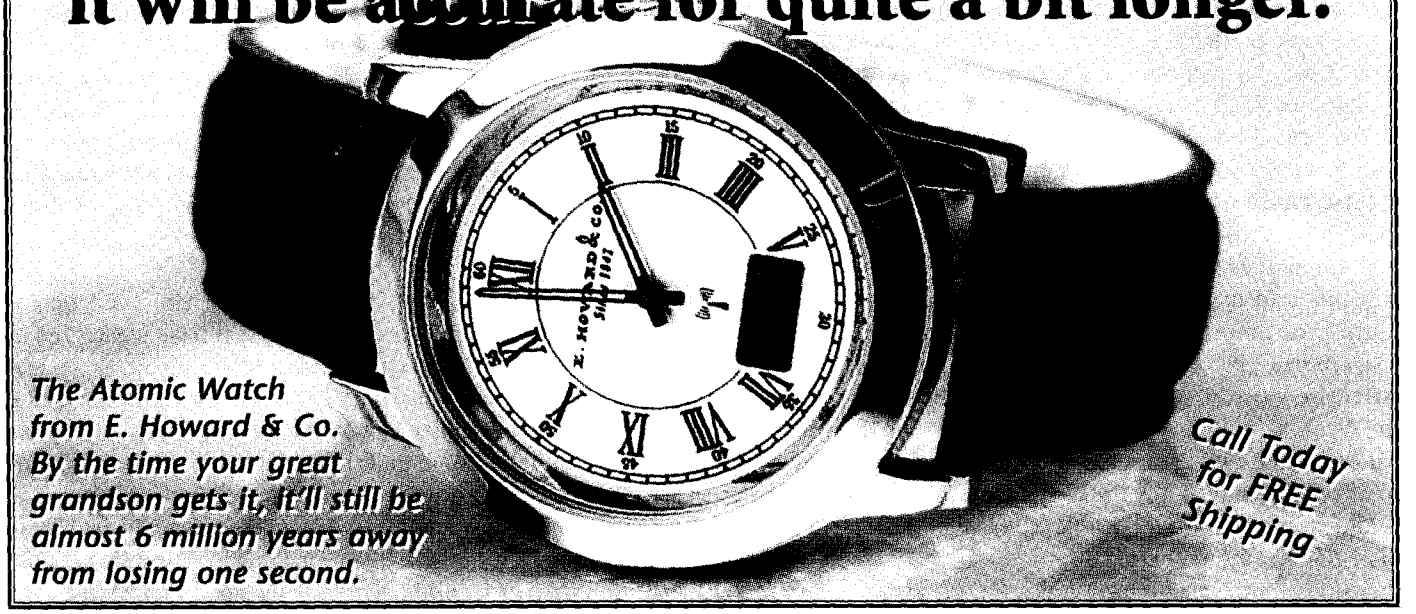

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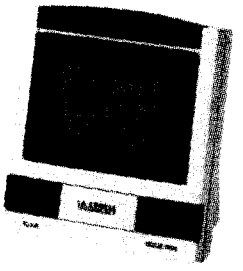

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to tell *Time* magazine, "The fear mongering we depict in this film reminds me a little of President Bush and his guys."

In fact, Gibson stepped into a delicate cultural situation and may have shattered much of what has been built by indigenous people, historians and linguists in recent years. Ethnic prejudice is as harsh in the Yucatán as anywhere in the Americas. I have seen it played out in the Maya villages as well as in the cities and on the beaches. When the Clemente Course, which educates indigenous people as well as the poor in seven countries, taught its first class in the Maya language and humanities in the small village of San Antonio Sihó, the students told me that when they took the bus to Mérida (a journey of more than fifty miles) they were afraid to speak Maya, because people would think them stupid Indians (Mayeros). After two years of study, José Chim Kú, the student leader of the class, said, "Now, when I ride on the bus, I speak only Maya." It took two years for the faculty, including May May, to effect the change, for the Maya have internalized their recent history. And like all people who live in the violent mirror of racial and ethnic hatred, they suffer for their suffering. It is the bitterest irony of colonialism.

Culture doesn't sell tickets. Violence does. So Gibson has made a 'chase movie.' 'Blood! More blood!' he shouted during the filming.

In the film *Apocalypto*, which Gibson claims will make the Maya language "cool again," there are many major roles. The lead is a lithe, handsome young man, a dancer from Oklahoma named Rudy Youngblood. He has indigenous ancestors, but he is not Maya, and like most of the other featured players he is not a professional actor. None of the four other major parts went to Maya either. According to Gibson, they are played by people from the United States, and the other featured players are either from Mexico City or Oaxaca. Yet every word spoken in the film is in Yucatecan Maya, a difficult language to learn or even to mimic, because it is both tonal and accented.

It is not as if Gibson had few Mayeros to choose from. There are more than a million Maya in Mexico, and more than 100,000 of them are monolingual Yucatecan Maya speakers. Yet Gibson chose not one Maya for a featured role. In so doing, he has made a film that reinforces the prejudice against the Maya, who have defended their cultural autonomy as fiercely as any people on earth. Twice they repulsed the Spaniard Francisco de Montejo, before he occupied part of the peninsula in 1527. They continued to fight pitched battles against European cultural and political dominance until the end of the Caste War in the early twentieth century. And even now militant organizations deep in the jungles of the state of Quintana Roo practice ancient rituals and resist Occidental cultural and political hegemony, including the Gregorian calendar. But the people have never been attacked by Hollywood.

Like the owners of the resort hotels that line the beautiful beaches of Cancún and Cozumel, Mel Gibson cast no Maya to work on his project, except in the most minor roles. Maya nationalists think the hotels and tourist packages that use the word "Maya" or "Mayaland" (a translation of Mayab) should pay for what they appropriate for their own use. The Maya patrimony, they say, is neither gold nor silver nor vast stretches of rich farmland; they have only their history, their culture, themselves. Like the hotel owners who bring strangers to the Yucatán to do everything but labor in the laundries and maintain the grounds, Gibson has brought in strangers to take the good parts from the Maya. He said in an interview that he chose people who "looked like you imagined they should," but I have seen photographs of Rudy Youngblood, and he does not look like any Maya I ever saw. One can only ascribe the choice of Youngblood and the other non-Maya to stereotypes that Gibson has adopted.

In casting and producing the film Gibson reinforced a colonialist concept of indigenous people that has long existed in Mexico. Ancient Maya culture was extraordinary, as the rest of the world now recognizes. The Maya invented one of the few original systems of phonetic writing (we are familiar with the Chinese system and the one that culminated in Latin script). They worked with the concept of zero long before it was known in Europe. They were superb astronomers. Their art and architecture are now known and studied throughout the world. It is also true that they were warriors and that they engaged in human sacrifice, although not on the grand scale of the Mexica. Their ability to manage large-scale military and civic works was impressive. Maya literature has a long and grand history, from the ancient words incised in stone through the Pop Wuj (Popol Vuh) and the postinvasion books of Chilam Balam to the eighteenth-century poems ("Kay Nicte"—Flower Song—and others) to contemporary works, including brilliant poetry by Briceida Cuevas Cob in Yucatecan Maya and Humberto Ak'abal in Ki'che and Miguel Angel May May's delightful fables.

Culture doesn't sell tickets. Violence does. Gibson has made what he calls "a chase movie." As we saw his Scot disemboweled and his Jesus battered into bloody meat, we will now see a young Maya running through the jungle to escape having his still beating heart torn from his chest. The social philosophy of Jesus found no place in Gibson's *Passion of the Christ*, and the glory of Maya culture cannot be featured in a "chase movie." "Blood! More blood!" Gibson shouted during the filming.

According to the Maya calendar, the world will end in 2012, but there have already been four creations in the Maya vision of the cosmos, and there is no reason to think they do not expect another. For the title of his movie Gibson chose a Greek word related to the ideas in the Book of Revelation: apocalypse. Gibson has tried to sell the movie as an allegory, using the fall of Maya civilization to limn the war in Iraq. But it is not about Iraq, and the end of the Maya classic period took place many centuries before the period Gibson chose for his film. The only profound meaning one can take away from the film is that there is an intimate connection between racism and violence. The message of the production is that the Maya are unacceptable people; we do not want to look at them as they are now, and we despise them for what they were then. ■

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LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
(well, maybe not "holier") Sam Harris camp, which wonders how it is that religious faith persists in the twenty-first century. But it does. And if humanists have any prayer (oops, chance) of seeing change in a world in which often cataclysmic decisions and actions are inspired by ancient texts (and where it is generally presumed that, in order to be a moral person, one must profess belief in God), then we must find a way to bridge that yawning gap. As one step in that direction, shouldn't we challenge ourselves to create as many opportunities as we can—both formal and informal—to sit together with people of faith, speak from the heart and really listen to one another? Who knows what miracle might happen? MICHAEL FELSEN

PRESS REPLIES

New York City

■ My thanks to readers for your thoughtful letters. Tom Flynn has found a convenient way to blame religion for all forms of cruelty. If it's a country like Iran or, say, Jewish settlers in the West Bank, we can point to the Koran or the Talmud. If it's North Korea or Cambodia under Pol Pot, we can point to the similarities between these officially atheistic regimes and Islam, Judaism or Christianity. To the extent a belief system becomes dogmatic, the responsibility automatically falls on religion—even when those who espouse the beliefs openly denounce religion. Doesn't it make more sense to acknowledge that dangerous messianic creeds can come in a variety of forms, including secular ones?

I'm every bit as infuriated by discrimination that is justified by "revealed truth" as Robert S. King is. But I'm no less disturbed by discrimination grounded in racist pseudoscience or plain old ignorance. King is surely right that the impulse to fight for social justice "is hardly dependent on religion." But the fact is that religion has often inspired people in America to battle injustice and fight for admirable causes (the most recent example being the protests on behalf of illegal immigrants), while "reason" has not infrequently been invoked to justify prejudice and discriminatory practices. I suspect King's main objection is to the agenda of the religious right, not to all people of faith, a distinction that is played down by Sam Harris. I, for one, find it hard to comprehend why secularists who value tolerance find it objectionable when right-wing preachers dismiss all nonbelievers as immoral but not when writers like Harris disparage all believers as deranged. EYAL PRESS

MIDDLE CLASS: ENDANGERED SPECIES

Oak Park, Calif.

■ Re: Barbara Ehrenreich and Tamara Draut's "Downsized but Not Out" [Nov. 6]. My wife and I feel lucky to be employed, but we don't feel secure. As with many people (both white- and blue-collar), our paychecks haven't kept up with the cost of living, and my employer recently froze my pension. What's next? Every man and woman for themselves? Ehrenreich and Draut's new organization, United Professionals (UP), offers hope, direction, advocacy and a growing network of people who are all in the same boat: middle-class and struggling to survive. After reading their editorial about the rapid downward slide of the middle class and the many former professionals trapped in jobs that neither utilize their talents nor pay them a decent wage, I went online and joined UP. I urge anyone concerned about the future of the middle class to do the same.

MIKE LASKAVY

1 VOTE 2 VOTES, RED VOTE BLUE VOTE

■ A correction for Christopher Hayes's "The New Democratic Populism" [Dec. 4]: CAFTA passed by two votes, not one.

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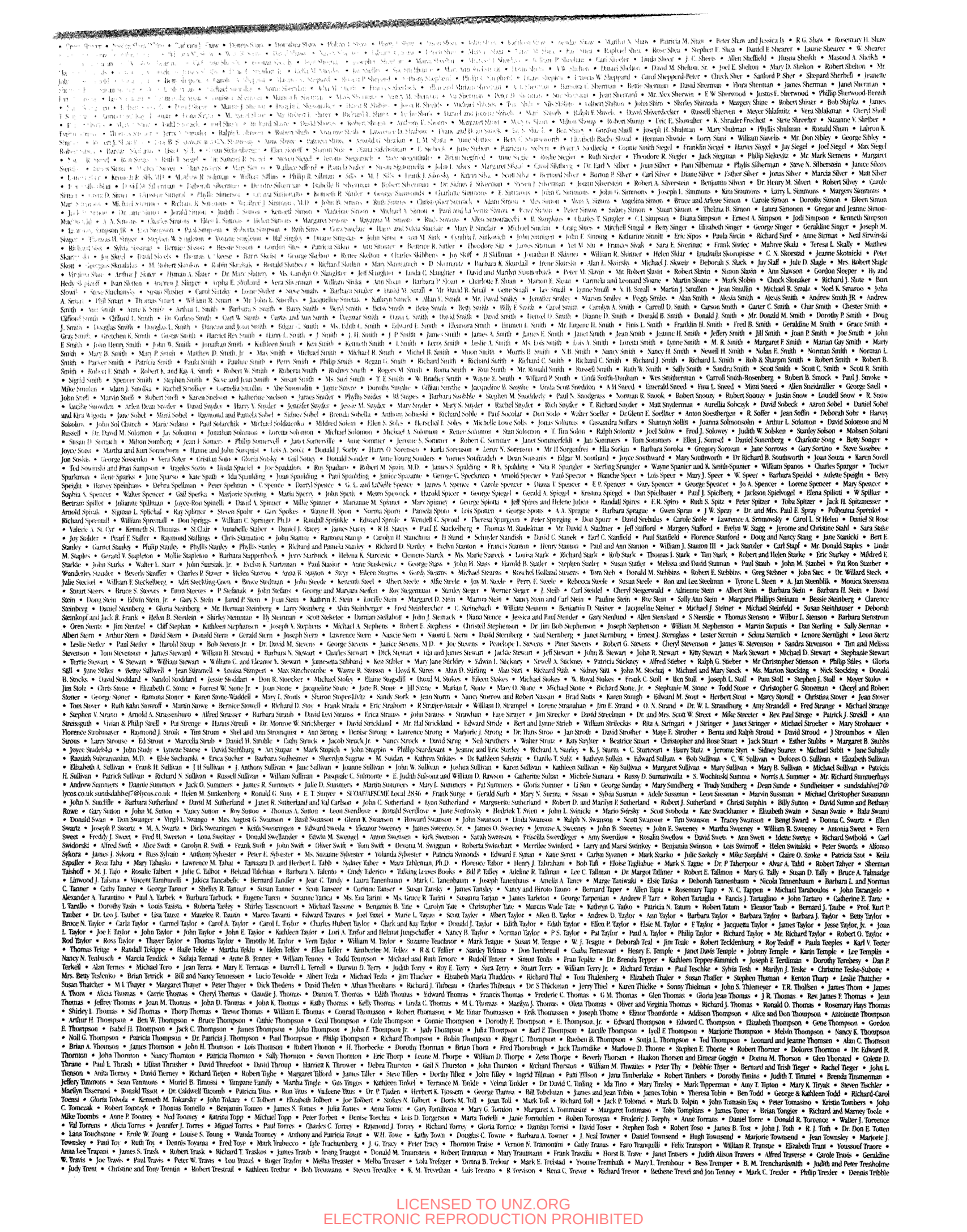

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Palestinian refugees from Haifa disembarking at Port Said, Egypt, May 1948

In Palestine, a Dream Deferred

BASHIR ABU-MANNEH

THE IRON CAGE: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood.
By Rashid Khalidi.
Beacon. 281 pp. $24.95.

ONE COUNTRY: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse.
By Ali Abunimah.
Metropolitan. 227 pp. $23.

Since occupying the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, Israel has been the only sovereign state in British Mandate Palestine. Palestinians have been living either as second-class citizens in the Jewish state; or as colonized residents of the West Bank and Gaza with no human or political rights; or as refugees dispersed and stranded in neighboring Arab countries, in often extremely difficult conditions. The chances of Palestinians overcoming exile and exercising their right of return seem as far away as ever. Hardly more promising are the immediate prospects for ending the Israeli occupation and establishing an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza in accordance with the international and Arab consensus, in place since at least 1976 and rejected by the United States and Israel.

Neither armed struggle from bordering Arab countries and the occupied territories nor popular mobilization and political struggle have brought liberation and decolonization. The defeat or containment of one intifada after another has only strengthened the Israeli colonial presence in the West Bank. Despite the withdrawal of 8,000 settlers from Gaza, the area's 1.3 million Palestinians are under intensified blockade and siege. Since the summer nearly 400 Palestinians have been killed, many of them civilians, as in the recent Beit Hanoun massacre. Haughtily told by the United States that the lack of Palestinian "democracy"

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was the main obstacle to peace, Palestinians freely cast their ballots in the legislative elections in January, only to be punished for their democratic choice: threatened by Israel with "starvation" and denied the funds needed to pay the salaries of civil servants, the breadwinners for much of Palestinian society. Walls, checkpoints, closures, collective punishments, roadblocks, Jewish-only roads, massacres by shelling, assassinations, mass imprisonment and a poverty rate of 70 percent have come to define the Palestinian condition under occupation.

The diplomacy of the Oslo period has also failed to restitute—even some—Palestinian national rights. In fact, as far as the Israeli elite were concerned, the Oslo framework was never intended to end the occupation or to bring about withdrawal to the 1967 borders. Oslo has proved to be yet another version of the Allon Plan, first presented after the 1967 war by Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon to Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. The Allon Plan proposed a truncated autonomy for Palestinians in the West Bank (Allon suggested that Arab-majority areas be placed under Jordanian jurisdiction), with substantial quantities of their land annexed to Israel, which would control all borders and entry points to the territory as a whole.

Since 1993, under the guise of peacemaking, Israel has doubled the number of settlements and settlers (around 400,000) in the occupied territories. For Israel "peace" and "security" have come to mean a Palestinian population cut off from Israel yet at the same time totally dependent on it—a recipe for continuing Palestinian subjugation and Israeli domination. Palestinians have, as a result, been undergoing their worst ordeal since their dispossession and expulsion from most of Palestine in 1948 and their occupation by Israel in 1967. As John Dugard, the UN's special rapporteur on human rights in the occupied territories, put it in his recent report, Palestinians are the first occupied people in history on whom international sanctions have been imposed—sanctions that are "possibly the most rigorous form...imposed in modern times." Palestinian democracy, he concludes, is as curtailed by the international community as Palestinian freedom of movement is by Israel.

This bleak picture is compounded by grave internal divisions between Fatah and Hamas, which in the past year have spilled over into street confrontations and killings. For the first time in Palestinian history there looms the possibility of civil war. The political contradictions between those who seem ready to accept whatever Israel offers (Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas and the Fatah elite) and those who seek the complete decolonization of the 1967 lands (Hamas, grassroots elements in Fatah and the majority of Palestinians) are rapidly sharpening. Though the Palestinians' steadfastness is intact, living under near permanent siege and without hope of immediate real change could intensify the tendency toward self-destruction, a prospect that Israel's leaders are happy to encourage.

Why did the Palestinians fail to achieve statehood before 1948, and what impact has this defeat had on their national prospects?

How then to respond to this deepening Palestinian crisis and to Israel's relentless drive toward consolidating and expanding the settlement project? Thus far, there has been no collective or national Palestinian self-reckoning. But conversations are beginning to take place in Palestinian communities all over the world. Activists and intellectuals are beginning to ask the central questions: What is the nature of the Palestinian crisis today, and how can it be overcome?

The new books by Rashid Khalidi and Ali Abunimah are important in this regard. Both writers have longstanding records of engagement with the Palestinian question: Khalidi holds the Edward Said Chair in Arab Studies at Columbia University, has published several fine books on Palestinian nationalism and advised the Palestinian delegation at the 1991 Madrid talks; Abunimah is a founding editor of and frequent contributor to www.electronicintifada.net, an indispensable online source of alternative information on the occupation. Both men seek, in their different ways, to ignite more focused debate and discussion about fundamental Palestinian and Israeli concerns. Khalidi's *The Iron Cage* examines the causes of the Palestinian failure to achieve statehood, from the British Mandate in 1922 to Hamas's recent electoral victory, while Abunimah's *One Country* makes the case for the creation of one state for Arabs and Jews in all of Israel-Palestine.

Why did the Palestinians fail to achieve statehood before 1948, and what impact did their defeat have on their national prospects thereafter? This is the main question that Khalidi tackles in *The Iron Cage*, a work of forceful historical analysis written in a spirit of self-examination. If the Palestinians take center stage in this critical survey of their leadership, it's not because Khalidi is "blaming the victims." Rather, he is holding them "accountable for their actions and decisions," as he puts it. Ridiculing Palestinian leadership has long been a veritable pastime in the West, from Abba Eban's oft-quoted line "The Palestinians never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity" to the myth that Arafat consigned his people to continuing occupation by rejecting Ehud Barak's "generous offer" at Camp David. Khalidi, in contrast, never loses sight of the fact that the Palestinians had few good choices, and that the odds against their struggle for self-determination may have been insurmountable. Those odds are well suggested by a remark made in 1919 by British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour, author of the 1917 Balfour Declaration supporting a Jewish "national home" in Palestine: "Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far greater import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land." Since then, denial of Palestinian national aspirations has been a constant of Western and Zionist policy in the region, and Khalidi emphasizes its crucial significance. He minces no words appraising the US record: "In practice the United States is, and for over sixty years has been, one of the most determined opponents of Palestinian self-determination and independence."

As Khalidi underscores, it is these British and American commitments to Zionism that are centrally responsible for continuing Palestinian statelessness and dispossession. It has long been argued that Palestinians—alone among Arab nations—failed to establish their independence because of their internal weaknesses: the petty quarrels and betrayals of their elites, their lack of social development, even an absence of genuine national consciousness. In fact, Khalidi shows, Palestinian society compared favorably, economically and socially, to other Arab societies that had emerged from Ottoman rule. Indeed, it "was manifestly as advanced as any other society in the region, and considerably more so than several."

Palestine's history diverged from its neighbors' because of the external interest that no other territory in the Arab world attracted: Zionism's desire to create a Jewish state and Britain's sponsorship of its settler-colonial project. Indeed, without

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Britain no Jewish state would have been possible. Britain did everything in its power to nurture Jewish state institutions and to prevent Palestinian ones from taking shape, creating, in Khalidi's words, "a kind of iron cage for the Palestinians, from which they never succeeded in escaping." Fundamental inequalities of policy defined British imperialism in Palestine. For most of the Mandate period, Britain facilitated and supported Jewish immigration from Europe against the wishes of the Palestinian majority. Although the British and the Zionist movement came to blows over the 1939 White Paper limiting Jewish immigration and land purchase, Britain's colonial policies ultimately led to Zionist control of most of Palestine in 1948, when Jews still constituted only a third of its population and owned around 6 percent of its land.

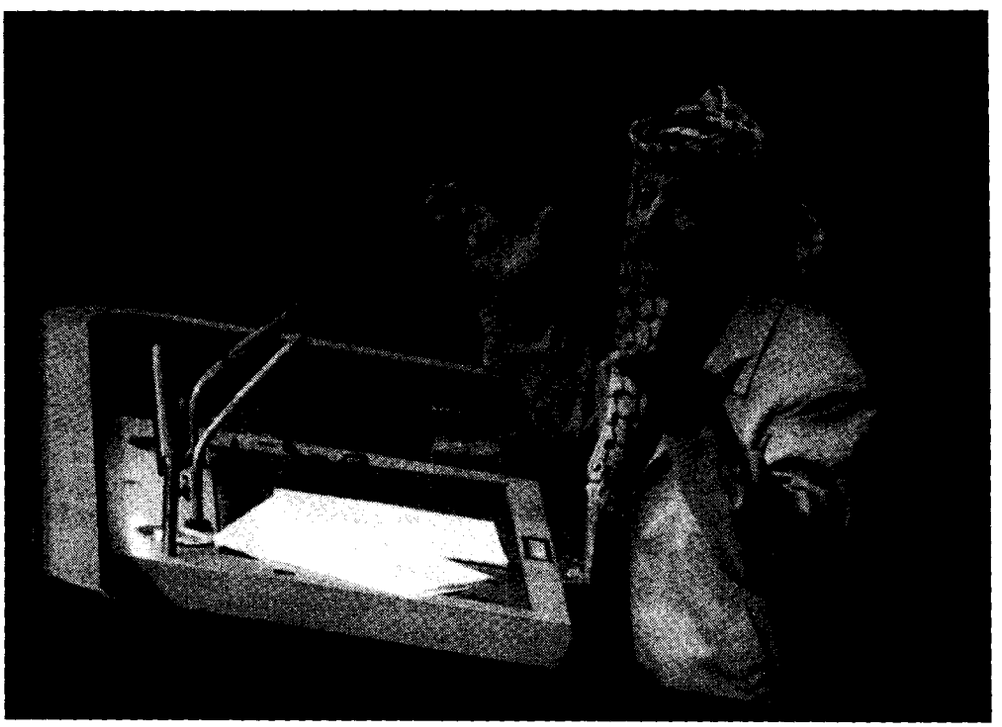
But why, Khalidi asks, were the British able to achieve their objectives against the obvious desires of Palestine's Arab majority? At times, his answer skirts dangerously close to circularity—the Palestinians didn't achieve statehood because they failed to build state structures that would contest the British Mandate. But what accounts for this failure? Khalidi's answer is tough-minded and unsparing. Rather than establish "alternative sources of legitimacy" and fight the Mandate, the notables who led Palestinian society were all too trusting of the British as intermediaries, with whom they engaged in "ineffectual beseeching." Thus did they deprive themselves of political leverage to substantially affect, much less reverse, the British policy of supporting the creation of a Jewish national home. If Palestinian leaders were co-opted and contained by the Mandate's iron cage, Khalidi suggests, it was in part because they lacked any real willingness to move against British imperialism until it was far too late. (The Palestinian elite's tendency to entrust their people's fate to imperial powers would re-emerge during the Oslo period.)

Even more than this dependence on the Mandatory system, what set the Palestinian leadership apart from other Arab nationalist elites was its specifically religious character. These were, in fact, intertwined, as Khalidi demonstrates in a striking discussion of the role played by Haj Amin al-Husayni, the Grand Mufti of Palestine. The British created his office—raising his stature in order to help them administer the Mandate—and invested it with powers that no mufti had ever enjoyed in the history of Islamic religious institutions. This put the Palestinian national movement at a severe disadvantage: "Lacking effective vehicles for building toward statehood, either pre-existing, provided by the British, or developed by the Palestinians themselves, the Arab population of Palestine was instead granted a religious leadership, authorized, encouraged, legitimated, subsidized, and always in the end controlled by the British."

It was only in the early 1930s, with the rise of the Hizb al-Istiqlal al-Arabi (the Arab Independence Party), that Palestinians turned to mass resistance to the Zionist project and its British patrons. In contrast to the mufti and other Palestinian leaders who denounced the British in speeches while quietly cooperating with them behind the scenes, Istiqlal advocated Palestinian independence and Arab unity and denounced cooperation with the Mandate authorities. Istiqlal quickly aroused opposition from the British, the Zionist movement and from the mufti, who would tolerate no challenges to his charismatic leadership. (As Khalidi ruefully observes, "The Palestinians were to suffer again many decades later from this damaging conflation of the national cause with the personality of an overweening leader in the twilight era of Yasser 'Arafat's dominance of the Palestinian national movement.") Under the weight of these pressures, the party disintegrated within two years of its founding. Yet its brief existence indicated a growing middle-class disenchantment with elite capitulation and a rising mood of popular militancy, particularly with regard to the deepening plight of Palestinian peasants and their increasing dispossession by Zionists. And in identifying the British as the main enemy of Palestinian national aspirations, Istiqlalists laid the groundwork for the armed struggle led by Sheikh Iz al-Din al-Qassam and for the general strike and violent rebellion of 1936–39.

For Khalidi "the crushing of the 1936–39 revolt largely determined the outcome of the 1948 war...for the Palestinians." He is aware that the anticolonial mobilization may well have been doomed to defeat, pointing out that no such revolt was successful in the interwar years and that Britain deployed more than 20,000 troops and the Royal Air Force against the Arab rebellion. But the revolt led the British to issue the White Paper, a small and ambiguous concession that the mufti rejected. Thus, writes Khalidi, the leadership "failed to take advantage of the momentary weakness of the British position or to win any political gains from the sacrifices that had been made by the rebels." Although the odds were stacked against them, he insists, "the Palestinians did have choices, and some of them may have been less bad than others," including mass organization, noncooperation with the British and tactical concessions.

Khalidi rightly underscores the issue of leadership, which plays an important, at times decisive, role in the success or failure of political movements. But why does it always come back to haunt the Palestinians? The self-interest of the elite and their pro-



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Yasir Arafat addressing the UN General Assembly, 1974

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pensity to cooperate with the British are part of what needs to be explained. Was there something about the conditions of Palestinian life under the Mandate that accounts for the persistently bad choices of the leadership? Or were there more deep-seated social causes?

Palestinian writer and PFLP leader Ghassan Kanafani made a powerful case for the latter in his 1972 study on the 1936–39 revolt. According to Kanafani, the nature of the Zionist colonial project forced Palestinian society to undergo "an extremely violent transformation from an Arab agricultural society into a Jewish industrial one." This, combined with British colonial policy, produced a weak Palestinian bourgeoisie and a weak industrial working class and labor movement, neither of which could mount an effective challenge to the Palestinian elite's political hegemony. As a result, the resistance to Zionism was led by the peasantry—dispossessed, nationally disorganized, geographically dispersed and ultimately powerless. As Mona Younis writes in her excellent *Liberation and Democratization: The South African and Palestinian National Movements*: "Indeed, while peasant and migrant workers could wreak havoc through rioting, they lacked leverage with which to force either the British or the Zionists into aborting their colonization designs."

Crushed by the British and the Zionist movement, and unable either to reorganize or to gain support from Arab governments that were more concerned with maintaining friendly relations with the British than with defending Palestinian national rights, the mass rebellion of 1936–39 ultimately degenerated into incoherence and infighting. The road to the 1948 catastrophe was open. The Palestinians might have compensated for their lack of leverage with a more coherent anticolonial nationalism that combined principled mass mobilization of peasants and workers with violent insurrection. The Palestine Communist Party might have led such a struggle, as did other Communist parties in underdeveloped countries like China and Vietnam. However, the predominantly Jewish PCP was too weak among Palestinians to challenge the leadership of the notables. And when Stalin decided that partition was the best solution to the Palestine question, the party adhered to the new line.

The Palestinian defeat in 1948 dramatically altered the political landscape, resulting in the expulsion of more than half the Arab population and the creation of Israel on the ruins of most of historical Palestine. This left the Palestinians stateless and dispersed, and with even less leverage to recover their lands and achieve their independence. Palestinians in exile faced the challenge of transforming Israel from outside its borders, while those still in Israel were placed under Israeli military rule until 1966. From 1948 through the mid-1960s, Khalidi argues, Palestinians "paid scant attention to the problem of what form of state was appropriate for Palestine" and

> generally did little more than project the imagined past into the future.... In thus attempting to turn back the clock, Palestinians once again appear to have given little serious thought to the nature of the relationship between them and Israeli Jews who would remain in such a projected Palestinian Arab state, just as during the Mandate period, there was no appreciation of Zionism as anything more than a colonial movement that had dispossessed the Palestinians. Clearly, the fact that Zionism had also functioned as a national movement, and had founded a national state, Israel, was still not something that the traumatized Palestinians could bring themselves to accept, since these things had happened at their expense.

What difference such an "appreciation" of Zionism as both a colonial and a national movement would have made, when it was obviously bent on displacing Palestinians and expropriating their country, is not made clear. Indeed, Khalidi shows that an accommodation with Zionism was never a real option precisely because of its exclusivism and unwavering rejection of the Palestinian right of national self-determination. While it may be true that Palestinians between 1948 and 1967 lacked sufficient realism in their understanding of Israel, much more evidence than the Palestinian National Charter of 1964 is needed to substantiate such a strong claim. It certainly doesn't ring true of those Palestinians who suddenly found themselves a besieged minority in a Jewish state, or of exiled Palestinians like Kanafani, whose novella *Men in the Sun* (1963) offered a powerful critique of Palestinian nostalgia for the world they'd lost.

It is important to recognize, nevertheless, that a qualitative shift in Palestinian political history did occur with the emergence of Fatah and the PLO from the mid-1960s onward—a story that has been told in exhaustive detail by Yezid Sayigh in his study *Armed Struggle and the Search for State*. For Sayigh and most historians of the Palestinian national movement, the PLO has served in effect as a state in exile, seeking a territory to rule. Pointing to the Palestinian Authority's abject failure to achieve even the semblance of independence and sovereignty, Khalidi suggests that "this entire teleology, and the narrative about the PLO that is based on it, is very much open to question." He finds too much "clear evidence that it was not seriously preparing to build the Palestinian state that had been its formal objective for several decades," including contradictions between rhetoric and practice, armed struggle and diplomacy. Again and again, Khalidi attributes the PLO's failure to its lack of preparation. While he accepts the notion that the PLO was bureaucratized and that it had become "more and more of a quasi-state and less and less of a national liberation movement," he argues that this process never deepened into "regularization and organization on a legal basis of the organs of the PLO, their democratization, and their preparation for a move into the occupied territories."

But if there was too little "regularization and organization," as Khalidi puts it, there was also far too much bureaucratization, authoritarian leadership and lack of accountability. The only way to overcome these impediments would have been to foster, not undermine, mass mobilization and democratic participation. But Fatah elites were always averse to participatory democracy. In such a milieu, self-deception all too easily took root in the leadership. Thus Arafat was capable, in 1972, of characterizing the Palestinian revolution as "a succession of temporary setbacks until final victory." Never mind that in 1970–71, the Palestinian resistance had been brutally crushed in Jordan (in the events of "Black September") and expelled to Lebanon. But how can such extraordinary defeats bring about victory? How can worsening conditions of operation lead to transformation without any thoroughgoing reassessment of the causes of failure and without devising more successful strategies of resistance?

Arafat's thinking has been far too prevalent in the Palestinian movement. It came into its own politically, as Gilbert Achcar has shown in *Eastern Cauldron*, after what he describes as the "catastrophic" liquidation of the Palestinian left's most progressive and committed cadres. This defeat led to a policy of increasing dependence on Arab dictatorships and the petrodollars of Gulf monarchies and to the deepening bureaucratization and corruption of the PLO, whose purse strings were controlled by Arafat.

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Why did Arafat's conservative nationalist policies prevail after 1970? The reasons behind such developments were subject to considerable debate in the movement itself in that period, particularly on the Palestinian left; one wishes that Khalidi had examined more closely the period between Black September and the PLO's expulsion from Beirut in 1982, which he too quickly brushes aside in phrases like "the futility of exile politics." For it was precisely during the exile period in the early '70s, and after Black September, that a serious and democratic critique of the PLO developed. Within Fatah it was voiced by Husam al-Khatib, a member of the central committee who recognized that the defeat of the resistance in Jordan was not just about "the question of leaderships" (*masalat al-qiyadat*) but about revolutionary clarity, organizational structure and political form. What Khatib championed was "revolution within the revolution," an internal transformation of the PLO's structures that would foster popular participation and advance the organization's ends more effectively. Interestingly, Khatib referred to this process as an "internal intifada."

A similar critique of the PLO was advanced by Syrian Marxist philosopher Sadek Jalal al-Azm, who attributed the defeat of Black September to Fatah's capitulation to King Hussein and its policy of "non-interference" in Arab authoritarian regimes. For the PLO to achieve its desired objectives, he argued, it needed to assume the mantle of democracy and revolution in the whole Arab world. Only then could the Palestinians establish the political leverage that they lacked as a nation-in-exile. This would help them correct the balance of forces and push Israel and the West to recognize Palestinian self-determination. This road was arguably available to the Palestinians; at the very least it should have been considered among their historical options. Such a revolutionary road may well have been blocked and defeated by Israel and the United States. But it remained a road not taken, and it marks a possible alternative in the Middle East of the 1970s, destroyed by Arab authoritarian brutality, with the backing of Israel and the West. By re-examining this radical period in Palestinian history, Khalidi may well have recognized that bad leadership after 1948, as in the Mandate period, is a symptom of deeper causes. Nevertheless, *The Iron Cage* compels us to reflect more deeply on the problems that continue to bedevil the Palestinian movement.

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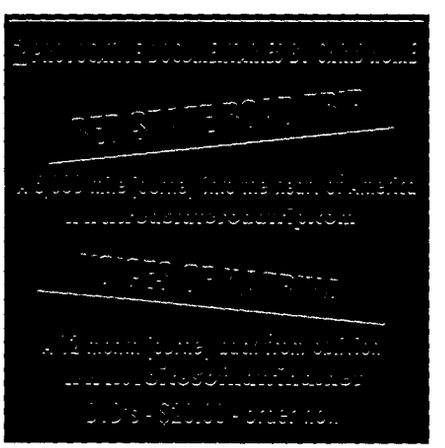

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Loren Goldner, *Herman Melville* (2006), 286 pp. ISBN 0-9700-308-2-7. $15. Available from Amazon, Barnes & Noble, and AK Distributors.

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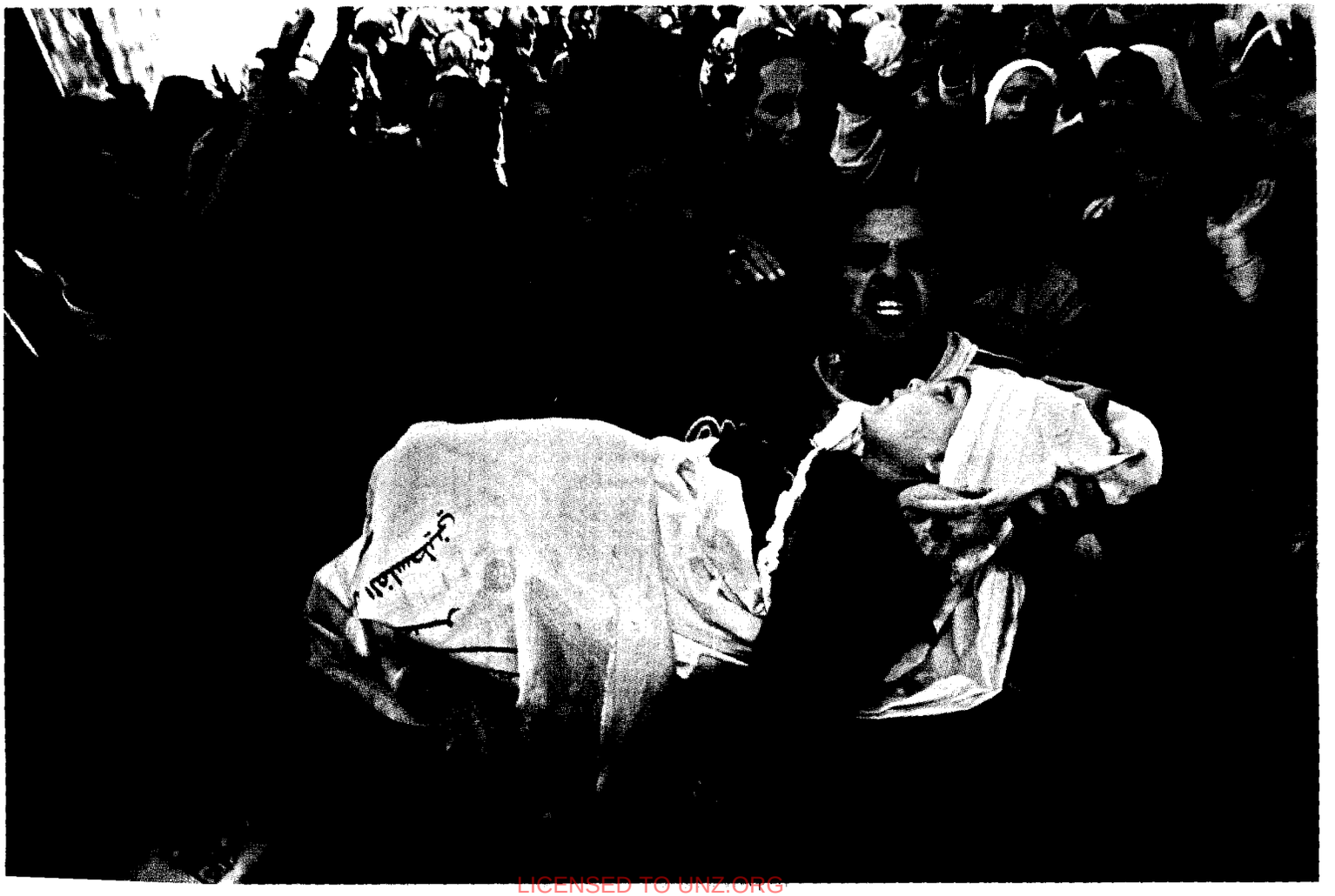
focused on the sources of the Palestinians' failure to build a state of their own, Khalidi does not explicitly advocate a particular solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (although a long-standing supporter of a two-state solution, he expresses doubts about whether even this will come to pass, given the enormous odds Palestine now faces). Since the 1967 war, the Palestinian national movement has formally adopted two main solutions to end the conflict with Israel: from the late '60s to the early '70s, a single democratic state in Palestine, which would incorporate all religious groups and existing populations; and, since 1974, a commitment to building a state on any liberated part of Palestine, formalized at the Palestinian National Council's 1988 meeting in Algiers into a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital, in accordance with the international consensus. Contrary to conventional wisdom in the West, the two-state solution has long been the dominant program of the Palestinian movement, still supported by a majority of Palestinians and their representatives, including, implicitly, by Hamas, despite its maximalist rhetoric. Though most Palestinians have never regarded the creation of a state in 22 percent of their land to be a just resolution of the conflict, they have also viewed the end of the occupation as a necessary condition before other issues, such as the right of return and Israel's status as a Jewish state, can be discussed.

Ali Abunimah's principal argument in *One Country* is that Israelis and Palestinians are so deeply "intertwined" geographically and economically, and the occupation so deeply entrenched, that binationalism, or a single democratic state with equality and self-determination for both peoples, is "the only viable solution." (Similar arguments have been made in recent years by, among others, Tony Judt, Virginia Tilley, Meron Benvenisti and the late Edward Said.) For Abunimah, binationalism resolves many inherent problems with Zionism: its exclusivism; its ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians (which is becoming increasingly popular in Israel, where Russian-born settler Avigdor Lieberman, an advocate of "transfer," recently joined Ehud Olmert's Cabinet); and its racist obsession with demography. It would also crucially allow the Palestinians to return to their usurped lands and to live in peace with Israelis on an equal basis.

What's missing in his account, however, is an appreciation of immediate Palestinian needs and strategies. Although Abunimah draws on a number of examples to support his proposal, including Northern Ireland and South Africa, the creation of a single democratic state is not a pressing demand for most Palestinians. Indeed, he concedes that today neither Palestinians nor Israelis want to live together in one state. What is more, if Palestinians have been struggling to no avail to implement the much less demanding two-state solution with international laws and resolutions solidly on their side, how can they be expected to work toward an end that is even less feasible than it was thirty years ago, namely ending political Zionism? Abunimah consoles us with the assertion that Israelis "do aspire to progressive values." It's hard to share his faith, however, with the erosion of the Israeli peace camp and a society permanently lurching to the right. So one cannot help but wonder: Is it fair to ask 3.5 million occupied Palestinians to wait for redress of their daily sufferings and national humiliation until there is sufficient support among both peoples for a binational solution?

When Palestinian and Jewish socialists, notably Noam Chomsky and the Israeli Matzpen group, advocated a binational

Palestinian relatives carrying the body of Rima Athamna, 2, at a funeral in Beit Hanoun, Gaza, where Israeli shelling killed twenty civilians on November 8 GETTY/NEWSCOM



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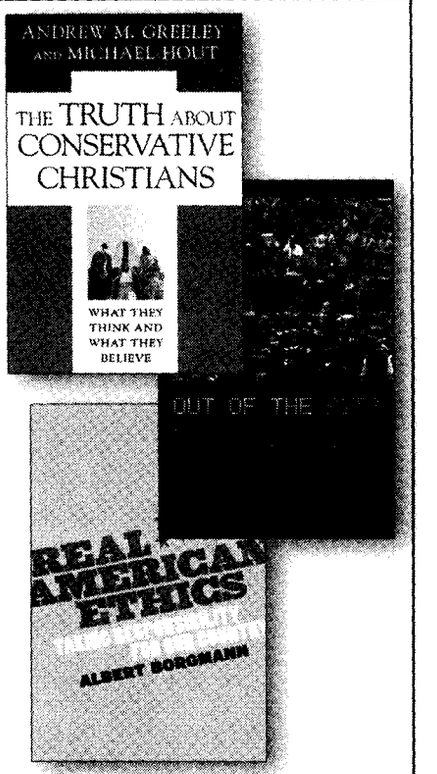
state in the 1970s (an issue ignored by Abunimah), its realization was premised on large-scale social and political transformation: Radical movements on both sides, with strong and capable constituencies, would pull toward each other and end their separation. When that option evaporated with the deepening colonial expansion of Israel and the rise of Jewish fundamentalism, many socialists shifted toward advocating a two-state solution, while remaining hostile to political Zionism. With the global retreat of radical politics since the mid-'70s, there is even less reason to believe a binational constituency exists in Israel-Palestine today. "Binationalism without social, political agents on the ground is an idea: an interview here, an article there," says Azmi Bishara, the Palestinian leader of the National Democratic Assembly in the Israeli Knesset, who, as a supporter of a state for "all its citizens," can hardly be accused of hostility to binationalism. "Are there masses—social movements—that are raising binationalism? I say no. There are not.... Among the Palestinian masses, the mood is still national. National-Islamic. Not binational." And if the binational idea remains largely divorced from politics, it has no legs to stand on.

Bishara is hardly mentioned by Abunimah, who ignores much of the literature on binationalism. The binational idea has a history in both societies, and it cannot be encompassed in a few passing references to PLO documents and to Martin Buber's writings. Unlike Khalidi, Abunimah overlooks *Towards a Democratic State in Palestine* (1970), the only one-state proposal ever produced by Fatah, written in English by a group of Palestinian intellectuals at the American University of Beirut. (Written for foreign consumption under the aegis of PLO official Nabil Shaath, the document mainly sought to convince a Western audience that Palestinians accepted the Jewish presence in Palestine.) Abunimah's discussion of the PLO amounts to two paragraphs, one of which is a long quote. He ends with this: "But if a single state was unthinkable in the past, many of the conditions that made it so have changed. Perhaps the most important is that the majority of Israelis and Palestinians now understand that the other community is here to stay."

But the fact that they know this doesn't mean that the conditions for binationalism are emerging. Nor does it make sense to describe the Israeli-Palestinian relationship as "intertwined," as Abunimah often puts it. One can make that claim only about either Palestinians living inside Israel, however unequal their access to power and social goods may be, or about occupied Palestinians between 1967 and 1991, when Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin started instituting his policy of closure and separation. Only then was Israel significantly dependent on Palestinians and their migrant labor. As Mona Younis argues, only then did Zionism make a partial exception to its exclusionary logic of expulsion and incorporate the Palestinians into the Israeli polity as subordinate laborers. And this, in turn, gave the occupied Palestinians some leverage to pursue certain forms of mobilization. The first intifada is a great example of what such inclusionary dynamics can generate, and it's the closest Palestinians have ever come to decolonizing Gaza and the West Bank. Even then their democratizing force was checkmated by an exiled PLO bureaucracy that feared losing its authority—and crushed by severe Israeli repression. Today the situation in the occupied territories is totally different, and much worse, leaving Palestinians with even fewer options for change and transformation than before. Israel has unilaterally cut Palestinians off and excluded them from access to its territory and settlements, even to their own surrounding areas. How can walls and closures be described as intertwining? In fact, Israel is no longer and in no way dependent on occupied Palestinians, while Palestinians remain dependent on Israel in every way. And this, incidentally, may well explain why Palestinian terror attacks against Israeli civilians (shelved by Hamas for the past eighteen months, while Israel's deliberate targeting of civilians continues) were prevalent as a resistance tactic after Oslo and its institutionalization of closure. However morally indefensible and politically counterproductive, suicide bombings were the only way desperate Palestinians felt they could "get at" their occupiers. Notions of interdependence, then, are simply wrong, and miss what is fundamental about Zionist colonization since 1991: its powerful exclusionary form. Comparisons with American settler-colonialism and its treatment of Native Americans are, therefore, much more apt than comparisons with inclusionary settler-colonialisms like apartheid. One hopes that the Palestinian solidarity movement doesn't get too distracted by the surface similarities between South Africa and Palestine, like the question of violence or boycott, to understand their crucial differences—and that it aspires to be as uncompromisingly realist as it is hostile to political Zionism.

Palestinians are entering a critical stage in their history. More oppressive structures are firmly established now, raising the pos-

Unexpected Answers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sibility of permanent dispossession and national disintegration. Geographically and politically divided, Palestinians around the world know neither their immediate goals nor their long-term objectives. Such a deep crisis requires widespread collective engagement and effort. It may be useful to take the recent Palestinian Prisoners' Document of National Conciliation, amended and agreed upon by both Fatah and Hamas on June 27, as a launching pad for emerging debates and discussions. The prisoners clearly call for the end of the occupation, dismantling of all settlements and realization of Palestinian national rights. Their position is supported by a majority of Palestinians in the occupied territories, who realize that it may well prove to be the strongest basis for national unity today. A national liberation movement can achieve success only if it is based on values of self-organization, independence, democracy and active mass participation, including women and workers. A new anticolonial national movement is still possible and ever more necessary. And if the outcome of decolonization also produces a constituency in Israel happy to live in peace and equality with the Palestinians without walls and borders, so much the better. But there's no shortcut around the struggle against the occupation. ■

FILMS

Unhappy Meal

STUART KLAWANS

FAST FOOD NATION

When Richard Linklater made *Slacker*, it wasn't enough for him to define a generation. (Well, part of one.) He had to bounce from character to character, format to format, so his movie would be as blob-like and shifting as a college-town community. When he wanted to convey the experience of infatuation, in *Before Sunrise*, he again matched form to subject matter. The film, like its fictional couple, was its own little bubble floating through space and time. In *Waking Life*, Linklater improbably set out to capture consciousness itself: the rippling motion of thought, as one mental image dissolves at the touch of another. His means was a made-in-the-garage rotoscope, which let him produce pictures in an indeterminate zone between live action and animation. Even when he took on a cheerfully commercial project, *School of Rock*, Linklater tested the material and himself. To make a movie about forming a kids' band, he put together a kids' band.

Now, in *Fast Food Nation*, Linklater has collaborated with journalist and co-writer Eric Schlosser to create a wide-ranging fictionalized exposé of the franchised burger business. It's about "billions and billions served" as an economy, a set of social relations, a way of life. Or, if you prefer a more direct statement, it's about eating shit, both figuratively and literally. Either way, *Fast Food Nation* is explicitly an activist movie, which not only encourages viewers to change their world but directs them to a website that suggests how to get started.

Being a film by Richard Linklater, *Fast Food Nation* also questions the nature of activist movies.

Before I get to that, though, I'd better tell you about the website. One of the companies behind *Fast Food Nation* is Participant Productions, an outfit established in 2004 by Jeff Skoll, the first president of eBay. Working with like-minded people who are experienced in film and television production, Skoll has been involved with more than half a dozen films about social issues, including *An Inconvenient Truth*; *Syriana*; *Good Night, and Good Luck*; *North Country*; *Murderball*; and *Arna's Children*. Some of these are documentaries; others are fiction films based on true stories. But all are solid, responsible movies that urge audiences to learn about a problem and then do something to solve it. I suppose this makes Skoll the Stanley Kramer of the Internet tycoon era. He brings good intentions to the screen, then asks you to visit www.participate.net, where good works are only a click away.

But what actions are available? With participate.net as your portal, you can contact worthwhile organizations like Oxfam.

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You can add your name to a petition expressing wishful if unexceptionable sentiments. (Who knows? Maybe they'll influence somebody with a little power.) Or you can go right back to where you started: Visit the website of the film, buy the DVD, watch the hilarious flash videos inspired by the movie you just watched! Now that your consciousness has been raised, you might also want to take advantage of the site's blog feature, which lets you read your own opinions and agree with yourself. For all the good that Participant is doing—and I think the contribution has been substantial—the company also has reproduced the traits of self-congratulation and self-validation that weighed down Stanley Kramer's cinema, politically and artistically. You see the problem on the website, and you see it in many of the films, which want to go crusading but never venture beyond a very homey aesthetic territory.

I can't say that *Fast Food Nation* overcomes these problems, but thanks to Linklater it succeeds in confronting them.

Fast Food Nation does its work by connecting three sets of characters, each of which is summed up in a single figure. The purveyors of fast food are represented by a marketing executive with the bland, good-guy name of Don Anderson (Greg Kinnear). His fabulously successful new product for Mickey's Burgers—a slab of ground beef slathered with the name Big One—is in danger of failing, now that some meddlesome college students have discovered that the meat contains a surprisingly high concentration of manure. So the home office sends Don to Cody, Colorado, to check on the supplier and make sure everything's OK.

The makers of fast food are represented by a Mexican woman named Sylvia (Catalina Sandino Moreno), who crossed the border illegally with her husband, Raul (Wilmer Valderrama). While Raul willingly labors in Cody's stinking, scary Uni-Globe Meatpacking plant (where cows are transformed into stacks of frozen pucks), Sylvia struggles for as long as she can to avoid the place and the danger she senses in it.

As for the delivery system of fast food, it's represented by Amber (Ashley Johnson), a high school senior who works behind the counter at one of Cody's numerous outlets of Mickey's Burgers. Blessed with a brain, a backbone and a conscience, Amber finds her way into a circle of activists at Cody's university, with predictably sorry consequences for her future at Mickey's.

The problem with *Fast Food Nation* is that Don, Sylvia and Amber amount to little more than this expository scheme, as you'll see readily enough if you compare Kinnear's performance here with his work in *Little Miss Sunshine*. In both films, he portrays a perfectly groomed, willfully naïve middle-class man on the border of despair; but in *Sunshine*, he figures things out (or doesn't) right in front of your eyes, working from all manner of needs and hopes, both immediate and remote, whereas here he's reduced to eliciting information and then saying, with a blink, "I'm shocked."

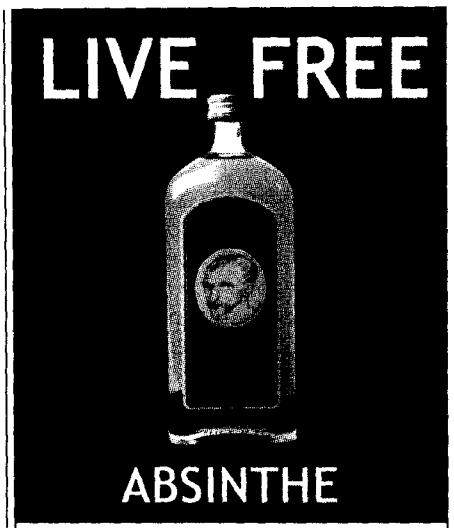
Or compare Sandino Moreno's Sylvia to her character in *Maria Full of Grace*. Again, the roles are comparable: a determined young woman from Latin America risks her neck coming to the United States, tries to help a more reckless friend and finds herself in deep trouble. But Maria comes alive onscreen in a way that Sylvia does not, and not just because she's so much more defiant a character. Maria resists a situation that has more than one possible outcome. Sylvia has nowhere to go, except for a place announced right at the beginning.

With Amber alone, the character has aspects that go beyond her function. Linklater and Schlosser have given her a semi-juvenile mother (Patricia Arquette) who sometimes behaves like a wayward teenager, so that Amber has to play the adult and restore order. You sense, without being told, that civil disobedience gives Amber a way to continue her responsibilities while also breaking away from them. It also lets her live out, while evading, her feelings for her very hot uncle Pete (Ethan Hawke), who comes through Cody just long enough to take her to a bar, embarrass her with sexual counseling and fill her ears with tales of his glory days, when he was busted for agitating against the university's investments in apartheid South Africa. The world can change, he tells a very receptive Amber. But the price of change is more than talk. You actually have to do something.

Here, in the audience, we are all Amber. We can't identify with Don, because he's just a device for indicting the fast food industry. And we don't want to be Sylvia, because her only job is to suffer. So we latch on to the one character with possibilities—the one to whom the film's message is explicitly addressed. Do something, she's told, and she does.

At which point the movie's activism collapses.

To explain how *Fast Food Nation* turns on itself, I must give away this much of the plot: Amber joins her friends in sneaking onto Uni-Globe property, where they break down the fence of a cattle pen. By this nonviolent (though not exactly victimless)



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act, they expect to strike a blow against a terrible corporate polluter, while showing the world that cows are not meant to spend their lives in feedlots. But the cows won't go anywhere. Provided with loads of tasty, fattening chow, and used to confinement since birth, they refuse to run free.

I suppose this means the cows are like the average McDonald's customer. They—we—know perfectly well that burgers are produced amid cruelty, sold through corruption and consumed as filth. In fact, ever since Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle* a hundred years ago, the hamburger has been turning stomachs; but we don't walk away from it. On the contrary: The burger remains perennially popular, precisely because it is greasy, cheap and common. Hamburgers are the meal of regular guys, like Clark Gable, who pick them up by the bagful and never call them Salisbury steak. Gable understood—and so do we—that if America can lay any true claim to being a classless society, it's because of the hamburger, especially when served by the billions and billions.

So it clogs your arteries, makes you fat, trashes the soil, poisons the water, condemns animals to a nonlife and chews up multitudes of helpless undocumented workers. People want it. This is the uncomfortable lesson built into *Fast Food Nation*, the lesson that runs counter to the film's message. A cool guy like Uncle Pete can mock the conformity of fast food culture. A figure with the probity of the film's crusty old rancher (Kris Kristofferson) can rail against "the machine that's takin' over this country." But a poor immigrant like Raul will still be thrilled to eat on franchise alley; and the cattle, when shown open range, will still stay in the pen.

So should we give up and do nothing—not even make movies? God forbid. I'm grateful for every *Inconvenient Truth* that gets out into the world. But I'm also grateful for the sense of contradiction and complexity that Linklater brings to an otherwise hortatory project.

At the very beginning of *Fast Food Nation*, he puts a twist into his activism by showing you the inside of a Mickey's franchise, where impossibly cheerful people are enjoying their primary-colored food. Everything is bright and convivial and as phony as chicken tenders. The camera, adopting a customer's viewpoint, glides toward a table and then keeps moving forward, toward the surface of a glistening Big One, and then keeps going, into the meat, which dissolves to show another scene: a street in Mexico. Anyone who's been to the movies will recognize the origin of this sequence. It comes straight out of *Blue Velvet*: the establishing shots of a parodic suburban "normality" followed by the plunge into a hidden, monstrous "underworld."

It's as if Linklater were showing up not only the lie of fast food culture but also the arbitrariness, the delight in cliché and mere cleverness, in David Lynch's famous opening scene. Here's a real dirty underworld for you, Linklater seems to say. And by the same gesture, he admits: It's only a movie.

* * *

Short Take: The absurdly talented Argentine director Fabián Bielinsky, whose debut film was the caper *Nine Queens*, died earlier this year at age 47. He left behind one other film, which is now going into US release: a crime thriller titled *The Aura*. If I had another full column, I would tell you all about it. Instead, like the film's epileptic protagonist, I find myself knowing but helpless, able only to say: This is an astonishing, haunting, compelling movie. Do whatever you can to see it. ■

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***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

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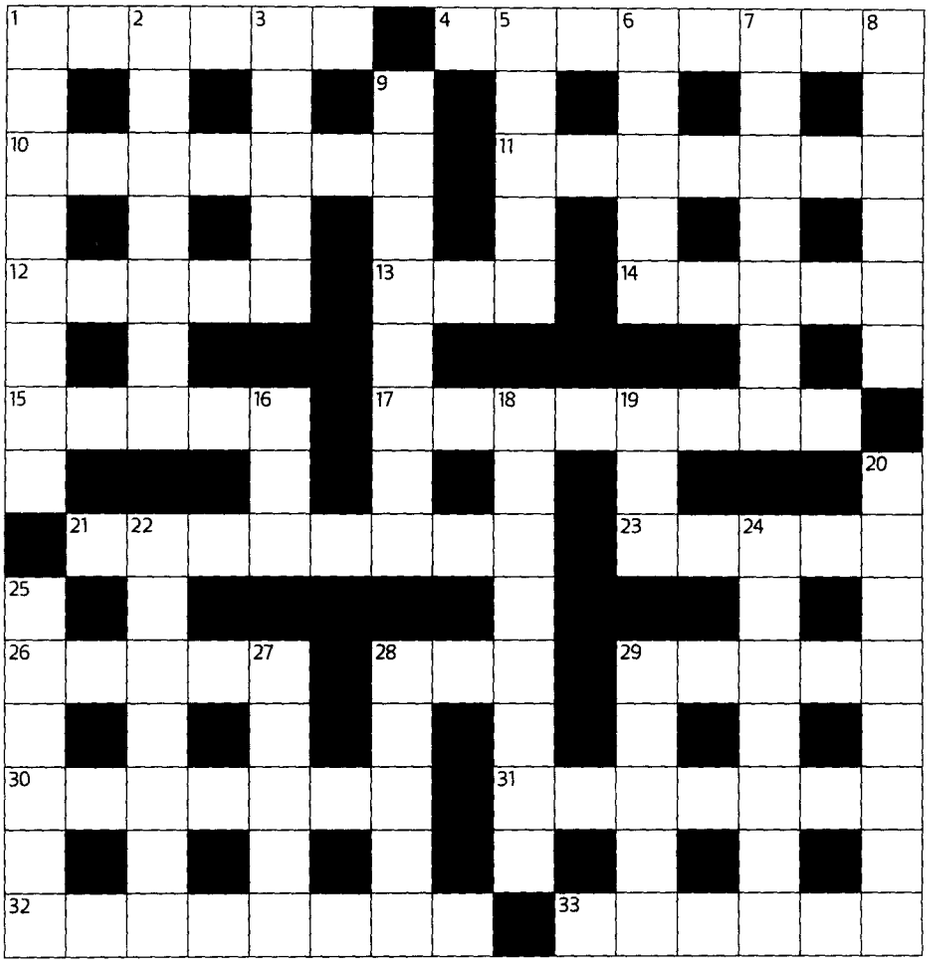

ACROSS

1 Moves along slowly, like those unpleasant people we abhor! (6)

4 In a way, love to go to town—with a fair amount of speed. (8)

10 The ref is confused with your cat and dog, possibly—and they will appear on TV! (7)

11 Bawls out "Johnnie" (to a Union man) having certain instruments of the islands. (7)

12, 13 and **22** down What the greengrocer kept, as well as what he had to do to bring you your veggies. (That's what the old highwayman said!) (5,3,7)

14 Disreputable slut, a city type. (5)

15 and **28** The noontime meal takes time—but is still a noontime meal. (8)

17 Here's a tip! (That's the clue!) (8)

21 Nothing to do with what measures electricity—it just measures distance. (8)

23 What Alice's turtle does? That's not nice! (5)

26 The measure exists as an island. (5)

28 See 15

29 Norma is rather shook up by one of those old men in Italy. (5)

30 If you need money right now, you might ask for one to go ahead. (7)

31 The lady, as the cowboy calls her, has a word of unpleasantness for the writer. (7)

32 Depicts beams from the left-hand side? (8)

33 Quiet tools with which some elderly ladies are enwrapped. (6)

DOWN

1 When disturbed, Lois appeared around it, with this to wear. (8)

2 Give the reason for your former spouse getting not very pretty. (7)

3 What one may do in court with a quiet go-ahead. (5)

5 Acted just like a human! (5)

6 What one makes going round in circles, alternative a small piece of it. (5)

7 Shown in test, perhaps—though one doesn't like to have it on paper. (3-4)

8 An overly agreeable person like Sam, when disturbed, having a desire to get around. (3-3)

9 Possibly set to have a load inside, which might be good to eat. (8)

16 A bad actor who sits a lot at his radio set. (3)

18 Such as OPEC and OAS, when a good companion has a bit of writing. (8)

19 The German town is in an awful mess! (3)

20 A mist is bad when Old Sol is not out—which could be dangerous. (8)

22 See 12 across

24 Possibly a 17 was much disturbed by it. (7)

25 A short month with a short measure of electricity to leave, if in a hurry. (6)

27 It might measure the depth, therefore ran up on it. (5)

28 The First Lady takes the upcoming year shortly, with each and all. (5)

29 Harrison was old with this, and ready with it. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3060

A	P	P	L	E		D	U	M	P	L	I	N	G	S
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Are You Snuggling Up With Millions of Skin-eating Bugs Every Night?

Tiny creatures can create big problems. Do you wake up congested, sneezing, or wheezing in the morning? Your own pillow is likely the home of millions of asthma-inducing dust mites. Now, there is a solution.

It is a worrisome fact that millions of allergy-inducing dust mites can be found in most homes in the U.S. Not insects, these disgusting creatures are part of the Arachnids family, related to spiders, ticks, and scorpions. One of the most highly allergenic contaminants found indoors is the fecal pellets and skins of these dust mites in your own bedding. Estimates are that dust mites may be a factor in 50% to 80% of asthma cases, as well as in countless cases of eczema, hay fever, rhinitis, sinusitis and other respiratory and nasal problems. But a new revolutionary fiber technology has led to a healthier pillow that may let you breathe easier each and every night.

Actual microscopic image of house dust mites (Dermatophagoides farinae)

What can you do to control this hazardous invasion of your sacred sleeping space? When you go to bed tonight, look at your pillow and remember: ***Ten percent of the weight of a two year old pillow can be composed of dead mites and their droppings...aghhh!*** Your pillow is a very personal part of sleeping well. And since you spend eight hours a night with your face buried in it, shouldn't you take steps to make your pillow the healthiest possible while protecting yourself against potentially dangerous allergens? Well, NextTen may have the comfortable, healthy solution. The ProTech® Wellcare® anti-dust mite pillow destroys dust mites where they live—**on the fiber fill.** It's the first and only fiber proven to eliminate dust mites, **and it even has an EPA registration number (79427-3).** The ProTech® Wellcare® is not a plastic barrier fabric which can be hot, uncomfortable, and only encases the allergens. This totally new technology is a safe process that is different from any pillow in the market today.

How serious is the dust mite problem? About 20 million people suffer from asthma, and another 40 million from rhinitis and sinusitis. Dust mites are linked to allergy symptoms for millions of Americans.

Advanced technology eliminates dust mites at the source—on the fiber fill

Cut-away view shows ProTech® Wellcare® Anti-dust mite pillow fill that creates a sleep surface not conducive to dust mites.

ProTech® Wellcare® combines technology with pure comfort. With a 233 thread count 100% cotton cover and soft, supportive inner fiber, the plush ProTech® Wellcare® pillow supports your neck and head with extraordinary comfort. It will quickly become part of your total healthy sleep experience.

Have you become a zookeeper? Here are some facts that should make you concerned: A typical used mattress can have up to 10 million dust mites inside, feeding on the dead skin you shed each week. Each mite can produce 200 times it's body weight in waste, and each egg-laying female can produce 25-30 more mites every three weeks.

Don't stay awake thinking about what's under your head! The ProTech® Wellcare® pillow simply creates a low maintenance environment in which the dust mite can not survive. Order the ProTech® Wellcare® anti-dust mite pillow today and take advantage of our special offer. **Order two ProTech® Wellcare® pillows at a special price. See details below.** Try this astonishing pillow for 30 days with our free in-home trial. If you're not completely satisfied with your new, healthy sleep environment, we will gladly refund the purchase price...rest assured.

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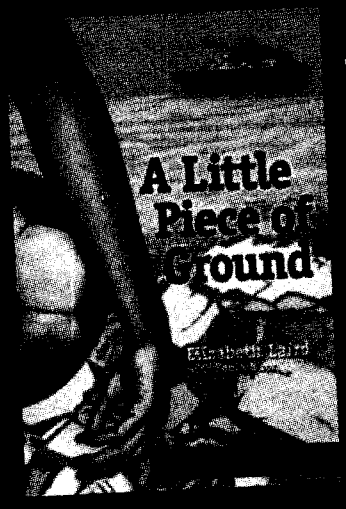
A Little Piece of Ground



Occupied Paliestine through the eyes of a young boy.

Twelve-year-old Karim and his family are trapped in their Ramallah home by a strict curfew. Meanwhile, Karim longs to play soccer with his friends. But in this city there's constant danger, even for schoolchildren. When Israeli soldiers find Karim outside during the next curfew, it seems impossible that he will survive.

Elizabeth Laird, $9.95 ISBN: 1-931859-38-8

No One Is Illegal

This year, a new civil rights movement exploded onto the scene of American politics—but there is still far to go to win justice for immigrants.

No One Is Illegal highlights the history of white vigilante violence in the U.S., drawing parallels with today's Minutemen Project, and remembers the long tradition of resistance among immigrants organizing in the factories and the fields.

Mike Davis & Justin Akers-Chacón, $14 ISBN: 1-931859-35-3

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